THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE UNADJUSTED SCHOOL CHILD

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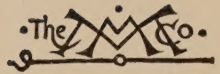

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE UNADJUSTED SCHOOL CHILD

BY

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PREFACE

There is no subject more fascinating than that of the peculiarities that are found in the mental lives of people. Our attention is immediately attracted by any one who is "different." Almost every one feels a desire to know more about mental deviations; but such a hunger for knowledge is frequently deadened when one begins to read, so incomprehensible to the lay reader is most of the literature on this subject. He is overcome by a vocabulary, the definitions of which can be found only in medical dictionaries; and he gives up his search with a hopeless feeling that such knowledge is only for the specialist. This should not be the case. Our knowledge of the field of abnormal psychology is becoming more accurate, our concepts are clearing, and we find that many important facts in relation to the subject can be expressed in comparatively simple form. It is in order to permit the uninitiated teacher to understand some of the truths of abnormal psychology that this book has been written.

The author has carefully avoided the use of terms that would convey little or no meaning to the average reader and has tried to put essential facts in simple English. It may be that in this attempt he has overdone the matter of simplicity, but the urgent demand that has been expressed for a simple exposition seems to have warranted erring on the side of over- rather than of under-simplification.

Another handicap to any general understanding of mental abnormalities has been the tendency to classify each case and to fit it into a fixed classification scheme. To the reader,

already puzzled by unusual vocabulary, understanding is further obscured by what may seem to him the arbitrary fashion in which cases are classified. Consequently, such classification, however valuable it may be from a medical point of view, does little toward giving the uninitiated a real understanding of psychological disturbances. The expert wants to know into what class a particular case falls because he has a complete system of possibilities in connection with each class, each possibility having for him an immediate meaning in relation to treatment and possible recovery. To the beginner such classification only serves to cover rather than to illuminate the main issues. Each case should be studied, as an individual one, by him. What does it show? How did such conditions arise? Can the situation be changed? How can it be changed? Thus may the beginner avoid the pitfall of being content with memorizing the doctor's case classification. He needs understanding, rather than scientific terms.

Many mental peculiarities that are classed as abnormalities are psychologically nothing but bad habits. Habits are learned in youth, often while the child is under the supervision of teachers; hence teachers are to blame for many mental abnormalities. This is an unpleasant truth that will be changed only when teachers gain some insight into the manner in which these conditions develop. Teachers must be taught how to train their pupils to understand themselves. It is not enough to teach pupils how to memorize and how to obey; they must be taught to have insight into their personal lives. This insight into self — the hardest thing in the world to attain — must first be acquired by the teacher before she can help her pupils to acquire it. For this reason many of the discussions in this book apply directly to the teacher.

The reader will not learn from this text all the facts of abnormal psychology. We have attempted to give only the most important ones and to state these so clearly that they will be grasped by any teacher or other person who reads the book, whether or not he has had training in psychology. These fundamental points, if they are comprehended and the knowledge gained applied in practice, will surely lead to a clearer understanding of human nature. If some few pupils, through the teacher's reading of this book, are warded from bad habits that might result in unhappiness or insanity, the writer will feel well repaid.

Grateful acknowledgment is due to Dr. Frederick B. Knight for calling the attention of the writer to the need for such a book; to Dean Carl E. Seashore, Dr. Mabel C. Williams, Dr. George S. Sprague, Miss Grace Corwin, and Miss Fernell Briggs for their critical reading of the manuscript; and to the author's students in abnormal psychology at the State University of Iowa for their valuable discussions of the topics included.

JOHN J. B. MORGAN.

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SECTION I

THE NATURE OF MENTAL DISTURBANCES

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE UNADJUSTED SCHOOL CHILD

CHAPTER I

Education and Character Development

All parents and teachers are confronted with the problem of unusual conduct. Why does a certain child do irrational, queer, immoral things? A child has been carefully taught that a certain act should not be performed but he persists in performing it. When punished, he sulks or goes into a tantrum. One child is extremely cruel to animals and to other children. Another will not play with other children but hides away by himself. Another is a hopeless thief or a continual liar. Another is extremely stubborn and does the opposite of everything that is requested of him. One is shy and another extremely vain. One will pay attention to the activities of the classroom or the home while another will continually be engaged in daydreaming. No two are exactly alike and each one must be treated differently. The activities that are not desirable must be checked and those that are desirable must be encouraged. All this we easily recognize; but we must recognize also that these personality manifestations in young children are the forerunners of later character traits. These children are all making an effort to adjust themselves to life as they find it. Some are succeeding and some are already beginning to fail, and their immediate success or failure affects not only their present, but their whole future

as well. Moreover, any failure to adjust on the part of any child, insignificant as it may seem, may develop into a serious mental disturbance if not properly dealt with. Most of the patients who come to a psychopathic hospital were once normal individuals living in society and as children attended school like thousands of others. When such individuals break, it can often be found that the source of trouble started far back in childhood, manifesting itself in a slight peculiarity, which, had it been noted by a competent teacher, could have been used as an index, and the trouble removed at its inception. The peculiarity, however, was ignored, excused, or improperly treated; the mental conflict became more and more intense; and finally the individual succumbed. Consequently it is the function of the parent and teacher to encourage the successfully adjusted children and to correct the faults of those who are on the road to failure. Recognizing this responsibility, they ask, "What shall I do when Mary will not obey?" "How can I influence James to be kind to his little sister?" "How can I teach my boy to be honest?" "What shall I do when my girl has a tantrum?"

These questions can only be answered when one knows what mental processes preceded the conduct in question. If the teacher or parent has an insight into the mental mechanisms which may be used in attempting difficult adjustments, the meaning of the behavior of children can be interpreted, the motives behind specific acts understood, and remedies applied. Without such insight, training often goes astray, punishment degenerates into mere useless whippings for every breach of conduct, the inculcation of ideals deteriorates into empty speeches, and rewards become unattractive trickery.

The first step towards gaining the technique of adjusting behavior problems is the teacher's or parents' realization that the object of character training is not to smooth out all indi-

vidual differences and make all adults alike, but to prevent gross deviations in the direction of undesirable traits. Each person, young or old, has his peculiarities, and these are not necessarily undesirable. Sometimes these idiosyncrasies prove an almost insurmountable handicap to the individual who possesses them and sometimes they are of great help in making social adjustments. Some deviations from the normal so repel that friendships are established only with the greatest difficulty; other deviations attract friends as inevitably as a magnet attracts iron. We all pride ourselves in the fact that in some particular, or in a number of traits, we are different from other individuals; we select our friends and the ones whom we love because they are different from others. The hypothetical man or woman, absolutely normal in all his personal traits, certainly would not present an interesting or an attractive picture. It is important, therefore, that we realize that an abnormality is not undesirable simply because it is such.

In all such deviations from the normal, however, there is a limit to what society tolerates; and when an individual oversteps this boundary he becomes an outcast. He may escape being confined in an asylum; but, if he is shunned by his fellows, he is more of an outcast than if he were institutionally isolated. Whether a man is considered sane or insane depends upon the observer's point of view. A visitor one day was being conducted through Kirkbride's asylum by one whom he supposed to be an attendant. Upon arriving in front of a certain section the attendant, indicating a particular man, said, "Do you see that man? He is in a pitiable condition; he is extremely insane; his case is a very pitiable one."

"Isn't that sad!" replied the visitor. "What does he do that is so very abnormal?"

"Why," answered the attendant, "he has the crazy notion that he is God; but that is absolutely impossible, for I am God."

It all depends on the point of view. A man is called insane when his conduct makes him intolerable to others; hence the real test of his sanity is whether or not he can adjust himself to life's difficulties in a manner that is approved by his associates. *The real test of a normal person is whether or not he can make social adjustments.*

Too often we picture as the ideal individual one who has a maximum amount of moral restraint; who is remarkably intelligent; who is extremely well-informed; or who is shrewd enough never to permit himself to become the dupe of circumstances. If this ideal does not preclude those traits which make the individual a desirable comrade, well and good; but too often such ideals omit very important elements, or, by overemphasis of certain traits, minimize the ones which make him socially desirable. He may attain wisdom, wealth, and a high standard of morality, but these are only means to one great end — that of attaining a wealth of personal contacts. One whose ambition drives him away from his fellows and tends to make him a recluse is sacrificing the most desirable thing on earth.

It may be objected that there are individuals who seem to find complete satisfaction in laboratories or studies far away from all society, individuals who are hopelessly bored if they are forced to spend an hour in the company of other persons. It may be contended that these persons have made the best type of adjustment because in their isolation they have achieved something for the world. From the point of view of social values such an isolated life may be very desirable because of the contributions it makes to our social benefit, but from the viewpoint of the normal individual, achievement

is of value only when recognized by his fellows. The value of an adjustment cannot be measured alone by its value to society but must include the satisfaction accruing to the individual making the adjustment.

It sometimes happens that the scientist or other individual who works in isolation is doing so not because he originally preferred isolation but because he has failed to adjust himself to society and is using his studies to fill the gap created by this failure. He has failed to make an impression upon his fellows with his personality, so he hides himself in his laboratory and through his discoveries attempts to gain their respect and good feeling. This should be recognized as a substitute for the more desirable first-hand contact. A person seldom becomes a recluse until failure in personal adjustment makes him one.

The main object of education, then, is to fit an individual to become successful in his personal relations with his fellows. Any educational system which does this is doing a real service for its students; any system which makes its students less able to secure the love and friendship of other human beings is a failure. A well-balanced curriculum is one which gives a man the maximum advantage in the race for social recognition, and the narrow or unbalanced curriculum is the one which leaves him with a loophole in his character, so furnishing a handicap against which he must constantly battle. The success of an educational institution should be measured not by the facility with which the seniors can make orations or solve mathematical problems, but by the social adjustability of its alumni.

The teacher may argue that she has nothing to do with the training of other than the intellectual parts of the pupil's personality. The fact remains that the child is in the schoolroom a fourth of his waking life, and this fourth may have

more to do with the formation of his character than all the rest put together. For this reason the teacher has not fulfilled her purpose until she has taught her pupils helpful character habits as well as the academic subjects required by law. The great joy of teaching is to see children unfolding into noble social personalities. A teacher who misses this is a drudge, a day-laborer, a time-server.

The first difficulty the teacher must recognize in the way of understanding the meaning of personality deviations is the attitude we have trained ourselves to take toward such peculiarities in others. We must recognize at the outset that one's attitude toward the behavior of others is largely the result of his own personality. This attitude may assume two forms. In the first place an individual may be extremely intolerant of deviations in others: there are certain weaknesses that he simply cannot endure; their presence makes him furious, and, without the least evidence of mercy, he wants to punish or isolate the person showing them. Now the teacher cannot deal sanely with her pupils unless she rids herself of this attitude of intolerance; and the nature of this trait will indicate why this is so. To rid herself of her intolerance, the teacher must understand its causes within herself. If she has a weakness which she has had a hard time overcoming, it means that she has had to be on her guard lest that weakness should come to the surface and cause an undesirable act. If a slip does occur, she is filled with chagrin and remorse because of her failure. Such a struggle leads to intolerance with herself. Now, suppose another person exhibits the weakness that she has been struggling against — the tendency which she is so intolerant of in herself. Her attitude will be projected toward his activity and she will have the same reaction toward his conduct that she would have toward that conduct in herself. Furthermore,

her feeling will probably be intensified, for the reason that the other person may perform the objectionable act with no feeling of remorse; and she will feel angry that he can do, with no apparent evidence of conflict, what causes her the deepest chagrin. Hence, she will want to heap upon this individual all possible punishment, because of her attitude of projected intolerance and because of the anger that she feels when he coolly does what she continually schools herself not to do. How can she deal with her pupil unless she realizes the reasons for her attitude toward his conduct?

In the second place, her attitude may be colored by an entirely different condition. She may have had an undesirable trait which she has overcome with great difficulty and which she has tried by every conceivable means to forget. As a result, all the little evidences of it are ignored. This leads to a condition which is the opposite of intolerance — that of failing to see similar peculiarities in others. This is by far the more common attitude. We all recognize that we are not flawless, and so when we see some imperfection in others, we are likely to excuse the individual and pass on. This attitude is accentuated by the fact that, seeing things in others which are irremediable — physical defects, for example — we feel that we must overlook them; and our feeling is easily carried over from such irremediable things to those that could be remedied. Besides, we are taught by moral and religious leaders that it is not wise to pick little flaws in others' characters, when probably we have gigantic ones in our own. This is no doubt true if our purpose is merely to criticize; but the teacher's purpose is to help, and the first essential toward helping another is to recognize clearly his needs.

What a teacher must do, therefore, is to cultivate the ability to recognize clearly all defects and peculiarities in conduct and

character, without any feeling of blame, resentment, or horror at the discovery. The deviations which we will consider cannot be handled unless they can be looked upon with equanimity. The teacher needs first to have her ideas well established concerning what is desirable and what is undesirable, and then to aim to eradicate the one and cultivate the other; but this cannot be done by the teacher who has not learned not to project herself into all the conduct of the children, with a resulting extreme intolerance or extreme blindness. Clear vision, self-control, and discreet common sense are the things that will be needed to apply the material presented in this book.

To develop character in a pupil requires, in addition to a proper attitude on the teacher's part, a knowledge of the mechanism concerned in trait development; the deviations liable to occur; the signs of such deviations, so that they may be recognized in incipient stages; their causes; and proper remedial measures, so that harmful aberrations may be rectified before they make the individual extremely unsocial. The remainder of this book will be devoted to a statement of such information on these points as is indispensable to the teacher.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Be observant of the peculiarities of your pupils.

2. Learn to study these peculiarities in an impersonal way. Keep your own emotions out of the situation. (Remember that this is a hard thing to do and will require constant effort on your part.)

3. Let the only motive behind your observations be to improve the child.

4. In attempting to modify peculiarities let your goal be to make the child more socially adjustable and not to fit him into any pattern that you may have adopted.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Why should peculiarities be modified?
2. In what circumstances are peculiarities desirable?
3. What is the social standard of success?
4. What incentive has a teacher to make her take an interest in the broader development of her pupils?
5. What two directions may our attitude toward peculiarities assume?
6. How does intolerance develop?
7. Why is intolerance a hindrance to the understanding of children?
8. What knowledge does a teacher need to develop a desirable personality in her pupils?

CHAPTER II

Mechanism Concerned in Trait Development

The mental life is conditioned upon the functioning of the nervous system. The structure of this system is partially determined through heredity, and partially by pre- and post-natal environment. In embryo the specialized structures which are to function later as nervous elements come to a high stage of maturity and complexity. The particular connections between nerve elements, or in other words the development of specific neural bonds for higher mental processes, are largely the result of the interplay of environmental factors. The nervous system is extremely complex — so complex that after lifelong studies by a vast number of workers the functions of some parts are still clouded by uncertainty. Where such a complex mechanism exists, obviously a large number of different causes might lead to disturbance of function. Furthermore, the particular manifestations of disorder may be extremely varied.

A watch, while it is a fairly complex mechanism, has but one function — to keep time. It either keeps time or it does not. People tend to look at mental functioning in the same manner. A man is either sane or insane, and that is all there is to it. They ask whether an "insane" man can ever be cured. It is about as sensible to ask whether a "sick" man can get well. The nervous system is more intricate and complex than all the rest of the body put together, so that *sanity is as broad a term in the mental sphere as health is in the physical sphere.* A man's nervous system may be affected by a large number

of different disturbing influences; the type of mental disturbance he shows, the amenability of the disturbance to treatment, and the extent of disruption depend upon the place and extent of damage done. When one sees an object, his nervous system is affected; so it is with all the other sense entries. A bad effect as well as a normal one may be produced on the nervous system through any one of these many channels in which it can be affected. In this sense, misconduct must have its cause in afferent stimuli leading to improper acts. Hence misconduct should be looked on as evidence of a disease of some part of the mind, just as more gross physical disturbances are considered evidences of disease in other parts of the body.

When knowledge of physiological disorders was in its infancy, the idea prevailed that any sickness was the result of sin. One who suffered was being punished for misdeeds. The big problem was to locate the one who was to blame for misconduct and wreak vengeance upon him. Today *we are concerned not so much with the discovery of the blameworthy individual as with methods of prevention and cure.* The teacher is still often inclined to the old-fashioned view of mental disturbances, especially in cases of conduct disorders. If the blame is located and the offenders duly punished the teacher gives a sigh of relief. She congratulates herself on her cleverness; whereas she may have stupidly done nothing more than prepare the way for a repetition of the offense. Instead of fixing the blame, we need to locate the cause for a given offense, and there is a world of difference between the two. Punishment, if it is to serve any purpose at all, must be directed against the cause of an undesirable act and be of a nature to prevent a repetition of it. Hence, through the whole range of causes, from the most simple, objective, blameless cause to the most complex, abstract, and blameworthy one, we must

attempt to retain the same attitude of dispassionately trying to correct abnormalities; not of wreaking vengeance on some offender against our æsthetic or moral ideals.

It must be remembered that the main function of the nervous system is to integrate different forms of behavior, and pernicious habits are even more deleterious in their effects than are extraneous influences. Just as one can learn to operate a typewriter, so one can learn to be a thief; to get sick to obtain what he desires; to give way to emotional expressions or to refrain from any expression of emotions; or to become deluded into believing what is obviously untrue. *The correction of faults means the replacing of bad habits by good habits. It is an educational problem and not one of retributive punishment.*

Behavior, then, is a response to stimulation of the nervous system. Next let us discover the origin of a trait, or a tendency towards a particular species of behavior under certain conditions.

Although we may not be able to say much about their relative potency or the details of their relationships, we can state definitely that all the influences relating to the formation of mental traits can be classified into two general groups — hereditary and environmental. The hereditary includes only those that are transmitted through the genes in the germ plasm. The environmental includes all those that affect the fertilized ovum and the individual developing therefrom. Modification of the former is a genetic problem and can be done only by controlling future matings. It cannot be used in the betterment of any specific individual who may come to our attention. Certain influences which work during the prenatal or early postnatal period also fall into the irremediable past and have made an impression which cannot be modified by any hygienic program which we may wish to

institute. If we can find something which is causal and which will lend itself to treatment, this will give us our opportunity to work for the benefit of the individual concerned. For these reasons, *it is important that the teacher place not too much emphasis on the genetic and prenatal factors;* not because they may not be important, but *because from the remedial point of view they make the situation hopeless.* Besides, even if heredity and prenatal conditions do operate, they are only contributors and their contributions can certainly be modified by the experiences which are determined by environmental factors.

It is not, therefore, sufficient for a teacher to decide that a child is in a certain condition because of its heredity, for such a decision assigns this child to the hopeless class. What the teacher must do is to discover what elements in the training of the child have contributed to the condition, so that remedies for these contributed augmentations may be applied. A teacher must remember that, even though a person may have a certain tendency through heredity, this tendency can only operate under favorable environmental circumstances; and that one can, by placing him in situations where the hereditary factors become practically inoperative, produce an individual who shows little manifestations of having inherited the characteristic in question. One who has no tendency to tuberculosis might be able to live in an environment where he is continually beset with the tubercle bacillus and not succumb to the disease. One who has this tendency probably would succumb very readily. But do physicians for that reason say that, since a particular person has a tendency to tuberculosis, his case is hopeless, and abandon him to his fate? They rather try to prevent any infection, and if they succeed, the individual will never develop the disease, although he may have inherited the tendency. Psychologists,

on the other hand, are too prone to accept without question a case history which shows that some trait may run in the family; and, if the trait appears in a certain child, assert that it is hereditary, inanely sit by, and watch the child make a failure of his life. *When a teacher uses a child's heredity as an excuse for her own laziness, she is making an inexcusable error;* and it cannot be denied that many teachers are doing that very thing. I may have inherited an extremely ugly mole on my nose but do I sit back and say, "It is inherited and so it will have to stay." I rather go to a surgeon and have nature's defect remedied. The teacher is not concerned with how the child came by the trait in question except as knowledge of the origin helps her in replacing that trait by a more desirable one. If the cause throws light upon the treatment to be given, it should be known; but if it is just an excuse for a "hands off" policy, to emphasize it is a pernicious error.

In many cases the origin of an observed trait can be attributed either to heredity or to environmental influences, the choice being largely a matter of the prejudice of the observer. The following case illustrates this.

A girl ten years of age was brought to a psychological clinic by her mother with the report that the girl was nervous. She was not so orderly as other girls. She was determined to climb trees and go swimming, and the mother was afraid that she would harm herself. One day she ran down the road for a mile and was later found wading in a stream. This child had been examined a year before coming to the clinic by a psychologist, who concluded that the case was probably one of inferior mentality coupled with "neurotic tendencies" due to hereditary causes. The reasons for this conclusion were: first, that the mother had a nervous breakdown four years before the child was brought to the clinic; second,

that when the mother was fourteen years of age it was feared that she was going to have St. Vitus' dance; finally, that the grandmother who entertained this fear was reported nervous as well. This looked as though the child inherited her nervousness, until one came to examine the child. In the presence of the mother the child did several queer things. She twitched at times and tended to be silent when questioned. When taken from the mother, she was quite different. She talked in a natural manner and her nervous symptoms disappeared. She said that she liked to swim and climb trees but that her mother punished her whenever she did, on the ground that she would hurt herself. As a matter of fact the mother's reaction had no connection with dangerous situations on the part of the girl; she simply was not happy unless the child was sitting quietly in her sight. She took out her instability by whipping her daughter when she had been frightened by some innocent thing that the child had done. The girl frankly told the story of running away. Her dog began chasing a pig, and she, being interested in the contest, followed them down the road until she found herself at a stream, and then she went in wading. The mother punished the girl not because she had done anything particularly wrong or dangerous but because the mother herself had worried. A cousin lived with them who was more nervous and irritable than the mother and this cousin also continually punished the girl.

Now, one might say that this was a case of heredity; but, even if it were, the environmental situation is certainly the more important thing. It was evident after a few minutes' conversation with the mother that the real problem was the mother and not the daughter; the mother tried to suppress all activity in a child inclined to be unusually active. The girl was not unintelligent; she had an intelligence quotient

of 98 and her tendency toward activity could surely be directed by one who made a rational attempt to do so. Certainly the mother's effort to suppress the child's activity was a causal factor much more tangible and amenable to change than the hereditary factor. Why relegate such a case to the limbo of heredity because the mother and grandmother both were "nervous"? The remedy for a case of this sort lies in changing the social conditions. The long-time point of view of the mental hygiene program may lead to valuable work in the field of genetics, but for the educator the practical problem is to try to change the individual.

Through heredity and environment, then, any trait is produced. Let us now consider the manner in which an abnormal rather than a normal trait may be originated. In such consideration it is necessary to distinguish clearly between predisposing and exciting causes of a given mental condition. *The predisposing causes include any factors which make the individual susceptible to a mental shock of any kind;* they prepare the soil. If these causes are operative it will be seen that an individual may succumb to a shock which would not affect another who is not predisposed to be affected by such a shock. Among these predisposing factors are such things as inherited tendencies; weaknesses due to the ravages of some diseases; the onset of old age; certain physiological epochs which entail stress, such as adolescence, childbirth, and the climacteric (change of life); certain periods of adjustment, such as courtship, marriage, death of loved ones, business crises, etc. These are all termed predisposing causes even though they may not be the first to operate chronologically.

That predisposing causes alone are not sufficient to produce a mental break may be seen from the fact that they function in thousands of individuals who do not succumb to a break-

down; for each individual has certain hereditary weaknesses; each has to go through all the physiological epochs; each is sure to encounter crises which necessitate readjustment; and each is almost sure to meet some disappointments in life. If these were the sole causes, all of us would have mental breakdowns. Predisposing causes operate, when a break occurs, to be sure, but they do so in connection with other elements, or in such combinations that the individual is unable to withstand their ravages. One single factor is rarely responsible for the whole trouble; it takes a certain combination and accumulation before the victim goes under. For this reason *we must learn to get away from the prevalent tendency to assign to the last violent thing which occurs to the individual the whole blame for the break.* This last cause is only the last straw; it is the pulling of the trigger which sets off the charge that is all ready to be fired. The important thing is not the pulling of the trigger but the charge which the trigger affects.

Exciting causes may be classified into two groups: the physical and the mental. However, it must be remembered that this distinction is more or less arbitrary and that in any case both groups may be operative. *By physical causes are meant those that have a traceable effect on the nervous system independent of any training, habits, or other psychological characteristics of the individual.* We will treat these first.

One group of physical causes embraces toxins or poisons which play on the nervous organization. These may come from the outside, in which case they are called *exogenous;* or, they may arise within the body, in which case they are called *endogenous.* Exogenous toxins, which may lead to mental disturbance are alcohol, opium, cocaine, atropine, lead, and mercury. Of these, alcohol is probably the most important, and statistics show that about twelve per cent

of the insane confined in public institutions are there because of its influence.

The endogenous toxins arise from such diseases as syphilis, tuberculosis, typhoid, yellow fever, malaria, and influenza. Endogenously induced mental disorders are also accompaniments of disorders of certain ductless glands such as the pituitary body and the thyroid. The invasion of the body by some infecting micro-organism that has an injurious effect upon the nervous system may occasion a mental breakdown. In some cases the result is due to toxic substances which arise from the micro-organism or from the activity of the body in resisting the invading organism; in other cases there is a direct invasion of the nervous system by the micro-organism itself. In syphilis the harmful results come through both these processes. Tuberculosis is another disease where there may be sometimes direct nervous invasion.

Besides the destruction of nervous tissue due to toxins and micro-organisms there is a second group of physical, exciting causes, as in actual destruction of nervous tissue by a direct physical injury, such as a blow on the head or a bullet wound. Physical destruction may also be due to other factors than direct, externally inflicted injury, which indirectly produce such destruction. For instance, one may have a hemorrhage of the cerebral blood vessels due to weakening of the walls of the vessels through age or disease. Such a hemorrhage gives rise to a blood clot, which results in destructive pressure. On the other hand, there may be a condition which causes anæmia, thus cutting off an adequate supply of nutriment to the nerve tissue and causing destruction.

These physical causal factors are all pathological, and their discovery and the treatment for them is a medical problem. They are mentioned here in some detail because one who

studies mental disturbances from the mental angle must never lose sight of the pathological possibilities. The physical character of some mental disturbances is unquestionable, and even in cases where a physical factor is not at once apparent such a possibility must never be precluded.

This brings us to the consideration of mental causes, by which we mean causes that disrupt the normal functioning without producing any apparent actual lesion of the nervous substance. The two may be graded off into each other, but we can show the distinction by a parallel illustration. We can take substances into the mouth that cause injury to the tissues of the stomach; we can injure the stomach by a knife blow or some other violent means. These are physical injuries. On the other hand, we can eat something to excess which in moderation would not have any deleterious effect upon the stomach; the excess, not the thing itself, deranges the function of the stomach. The distinction is this: Functional injury indicates improper use of the apparatus involved, which use is, however, somewhat related to the normal functioning; while physical injury indicates actual violence which is not closely related to normal functioning. This is the distinction between mental and physical causes of mental disorders. The mental causes are those which are related to the normal functioning of the nervous system. The physical causes are those which are little related to normal functioning, but which come in through some extraneous channel.

When, due to some one of these causes, a teacher observes an abnormality in a given child, there are a variety of specialists whom she may call upon to assist her in locating and then removing the causes operative. It is the teacher's duty as well as her privilege to consult these sources of help, recognizing her own comparative inadequacy of technique.

The following summary will give some idea of the different specialists who may be available to aid in an analysis of the causes of an observed abnormality:

1. The *geneticist* investigates the hereditary factors. He does this by getting all the facts connected with the family history (with the help of the social worker) and by studying them in the light of what is known concerning the inheritance of different traits.

2. The *obstetrician* can give information as to the intrauterine life of the child and can point out any factors that might have had a deleterious influence upon the child during the mother's pregnancy or at the time of birth.

3. The *social worker* makes a study of the life history of the child, searching for any environmental influences that might have been of importance in determining the manifest maladjustments.

4. The *physician* makes a medical and physical study in order to determine the presence of any infective, destructive, or toxic elements.

5. The *psychoanalyst* uncovers psychogenetic causes — those which operate through the functioning of the nervous mechanism. His point of view is that *vicious habits can be established which later disrupt the mental life of the individual.* He must learn just how these habits were established and then institute a method to disintegrate them by the substitution of better habits. His emphasis upon the functional aspect does not minimize the importance of the operation of physical forces that may act directly upon the nervous system.

6. The *psychiatrist* (a physician who specializes in mental diseases), searches for symptoms of different mental diseases. He proceeds by the process of elimination. He first searches for evidences of those diseases which depend upon definite

known organic factors, and if none of these can be found, he proceeds to search for psychogenetic factors; that is, factors of mental origin.

If she has thought it wise to consult a specialist concerning a particular child, the teacher should, moreover, be able to follow intelligently the specialist's instructions. A very serious difficulty that confronts mental specialists after they have been consulted, is the instruction of teachers and parents in how to give special treatment to a child. After the specialist has examined the child he must be returned to his home and school (unless the case is unusually abnormal) so that he can adjust himself to life as he finds it. A child may need very special treatment and the specialist may try to give the teacher or parent advice as to the way in which this special treatment should be administered. If the one in whose care the child is placed is entirely ignorant of the problems the child is facing, the advice is entirely incomprehensible. Assimilation of the contents of this book should not make the reader feel that he can settle all problems of maladjustment, but it should so acquaint him with these problems that he can see their meaning, comprehend the importance of the advice of specialists, and be enabled to understand and follow out such advice when received.

There are some cases with which the teacher, even with the aid of a specialist's advice, cannot deal. An abnormality so severe as to be a mental disease is past the point where it can be helped by the teacher's modification of environment alone; it must have a psychiatrist's care. The following survey traces the causes and lists the most common signs of the different types of mental diseases, and is given for the teacher's aid in distinguishing actual disease from lesser abnormalities.

1. *Syphilitic Psychoses* are definitely caused by syphilis. The most common form of this disorder is characterized by a progressive mental deterioration leading to absolute dementia, and by physical symptoms leading to paralysis.

2. *Feeble-mindedness* (a less than normal development of intelligence) is caused by heredity and other factors. It is best detected by the use of standardized intelligence examinations.

3. *Pharmacopsychoses* are caused by such drugs as alcohol, morphine, cocaine, etc. These diseases may be recognized by their direct connection with the drug habits.

4. *Epileptic psychoses.* Some of these are caused by a destructive process in the nervous system and of some the cause is unknown. They are characterized by recurrent fits which are abrupt in appearance, variable but usually short in duration, and which show impairment or loss of consciousness and impairment or loss of motor coördination, with or without convulsions.

5. *Focal brain diseases* are caused by focal brain injury. These may appear as a definite disturbance of a particular mental function, such as word-blindness or word-deafness; or may involve greater portions of the mental life, depending on the location and extent of the disease process.

6. *Somatopsychoses* consist of mental disorders that are associated with and symptomatic of various bodily diseases. Certain infectious diseases are often accompanied by a delirium; thyroid disturbances sometimes cause a marked reduction or increase of mental activity; cardiac disease may cause depression and anxiety; pulmonary disease, an increase in the feeling of well-being and optimism; liver disease, melancholia and pessimism; and stomach disease irritability and depression.

7. *Dementia præcox.* The causes of this condition are uncertain but are probably often of psychogenetic (mental) origin.

The mental diseases of this group arise in people of a "shut-in" character; those individuals who do not meet difficulties openly and frankly, who are inclined to be seclusive and to have no one with whom they can talk over their conflicts or troubles. The chief manifestation of dementia præcox is a lack of coördination between the intellectual and emotional life of the patient.

8. *Manic-depressive psychoses.* Of these, the cause is uncertain; it probably includes psychogenetic factors (factors of mental origin). Manic-depressive insanity is characterized by the recurrence throughout the life of the individual of groups of mental symptoms not leading to mental deterioration. These groups of symptoms are of two main types — the manic and the depressed types. The manic is characterized by flight of ideas, motor excitement, and emotional excitement; the depressed by difficulty of thinking, motor retardation, and emotional depression.

9. *Hysteric, psychasthenic, and neurasthenic group.* These are generally admitted to be of psychogenetic origin. In hysteria the mental disturbance gives rise to manifold physical symptoms with extraordinary ease such as anesthesias, paralyses, losses of memory. These disturbances come as the result of the slightest suggestion. Psychasthenia is characterized by recurrent and irresistible obsessions accompanied by great mental anguish. Neurasthenia shows itself in extreme fatiguability both mental and physical accompanied by irritability and inability to concentrate the attention for any length of time.

10. *Psychopathic personality and paranoic group.* The causes here are uncertain, but are probably frequently psychogenetic. A psychopathic personality is one who, while he has no definite mental disease, makes an inefficient adjustment to his environment. He manifests himself as a crank, an

ill-balanced eccentric, a liar, a swindler, a criminal, or possibly one who appears to be brilliant but who lacks continuity of purpose or ability to direct effort toward a definite end. Paranoia develops on the basis of the character traits of conceit and suspicion and shows itself in interpreting everything as having a personal reference (ideas of reference), delusions of persecution, the explanations of which are usually systematized and logical, and ideas of self-importance which may finally develop into a transformation of personality.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Remember that the teacher's purpose should be to correct faults and not to wreak vengeance. This is true whether the fault be a simple error or one that involves a moral issue.

2. Never forget that bad habits can produce mental abnormalities. The teacher is the director of the child's habit formations. Be on the lookout for bad mental habits; analyze them; try to see where they are leading and then substitute good ones in their places.

3. Be sure to enlist the help of a physician in any case of suspected mental disease.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Why are there many causes of mental disturbances?

2. What general attitude should underlie our study of all causal factors of mental disorders?

3. Distinguish between predisposing and exciting causes.

4. Outline the physical and mental causes of mental disorder.

5. What things should be done by a teacher when she meets a case of suspected mental abnormality?

CHAPTER III

Crystallization of Traits — Postnatal Conflicts

It is one thing theoretically to construct a system which traces back all human conduct to certain primary tendencies and show how from simple beginnings very intricate behavior may grow; it is much more difficult, however, to reverse the process and from a given act to go back and discover why this particular act occurred. The latter is precisely the task confronting the student of abnormal psychology. In any attempt to make such a backward progression in our search for adequate causes of action we can be successful only if we have an adequate idea of the normal growth forward of the conduct mechanisms.

An illustration will make this point clear. The circuits in the switchboard are very complicated and the least thing will put a circuit out of order. When trouble is reported on any circuit the inspector has to locate and remedy the trouble. The writer remembers very distinctly the methods employed by one inspector. Having acquired a vague notion as to where the wires connected with a particular circuit ran, he would go first to one and then another place in search of a loose or crossed wire. If he failed to find anything that seemed out of order he would go to another and continue until he did find something wrong. The surprising thing was that even with this haphazard procedure he was able to locate a number of pieces of trouble. He got along very well until some unusual situation developed, in which case he was usually helpless. His only salvation at such times

was carefully to pass on the difficult problems to others. Now, there were blue prints of all the circuits in the switchboard and the proper procedure in such a case would have been to gather all the manifestations of disorder in the circuit (symptoms) and then with the blue print as a guide work out the possible causes of the trouble. This method would have been much more satisfactory and would have saved a vast amount of time. A little practice with the proper procedure soon made any intelligent inspector an adept at locating trouble, while one who proceeded with inadequate knowledge of the circuits never got beyond the stage of haphazard guessing. One only needed to observe these men for a short time to distinguish those who knew their jobs from those who did not.

One who makes a search for causes of disorder in the human mental machinery is in the same position as one who searches for trouble in an electrical circuit, except that the blue prints of the human circuits are not so available or so clear because of our lack of knowledge. We may come across some cases which seem to us to be hopeless but we should remember that such cases simply demonstrate our ignorance, and should not succumb to the temptation to excuse our lack of equipment to cope with the difficulty by stating that the problem cannot be solved. We may have to use some haphazard methods, but *our aim should be to trace the difficulty from the present manifestations to the real root.*

To be able thus to trace backwards accurately, we must be thoroughly familiar with the forward course of the development of human characteristics. Let us try briefly to trace the forces determining human activity. Life starts off in a very simple and elementary form, its phases are few, and the different possible types of reaction are elementary. As one progresses on the life cycle new factors are added continually

until life becomes very complex. One might compare life with a stream which has its fountainhead in a very small spring, from which trickle a few drops of water. The course that this water takes is determined by each factor in the landscape through which it goes. Any little bump causes a turn in the passage; it takes up certain chemicals from the earth adjoining it; it becomes polluted, so that after a time it is no longer the pure water that left the spring. Furthermore, the volume so increases by the addition of other streams that it is no longer easily diverted by small obstacles, but becomes a rushing torrent of vast power. So life starts off in a relatively pure and simple manner. The slightest influence in the early environment may change the entire course of that life and the person may become an entirely different individual because of some such factor. As he mingles in society other forces are added to his life which were, in the first place, foreign to him, but which somehow happen to fit in with his life and to become a part of him. The adult life is, then, the composite effect of all the forces coming from the original source, with additions from divers places, integrated into one vast, forceful stream.

Now, with this simile in mind it may seem absolutely impossible to analyze the ingredients of this stream. In the case of the natural river, such an analysis has been made possible. The simplest procedure is to make a map of the river showing where every stream entered, where every hill, rock, and mountain turned its course. This gives the main visible influences; but added to these are those which can only be determined by other sciences than that of geography. The chemist, for instance, must analyze the stream's contents and find what elements have been absorbed in its course. If, on finding some chemical present, he can locate this same chemical in a portion of the ground over which the stream

has passed, he can conclude that in this portion of the course the water picked up this constituent.

In analyzing the adult human, the analogy holds good thus far: We can study normal children in large numbers in different stages of development and determine the extent to which new factors operate. If, in some particular case, we find characteristics which should not be there according to the studies of normal children; then just as the chemist, by analysis, sets to work to discover where the stream might have collected from the course it had passed over the chemicals it was found to contain, so we can go back in the history of this child and find where the influence originated.

Let us construct a norm plan of individual development to use as a test against which to check abnormalities. We can look upon the two cells that give rise to an individual as bearers of certain potential traits (genes). The genes of the male and female cells combine into one common cell, which then contains potential traits from both parents. We cannot learn through any analytical investigation of the cell itself what any except the most elementary traits are. The only way in which we can show the presence of most traits is in their later expression in the activity of the organism, through contact with environmental circumstances. Consequently, if one is to determine with accuracy which factors in adult life are due to hereditary forces and which are due to outside environmental influences, he must know and eliminate every outside influence, thus leaving a residue which would be the result of the original genes. This is a hopeless task, for, no matter what the hereditary factors may be, they can never develop without the interaction of environmental circumstances. The product which we receive at birth is the result of this combination; already trait crystallization is under way.

It is after birth, through the effect of postnatal environment, that the greater part of trait crystallization is brought about. Each individual passes through some specific conflicts with his environment; through his reactions to these successive conflicts he crystallizes his traits, or strengthens his tendencies toward certain forms of reaction until his conduct in a given situation is fairly well determined. Not until she knows the possible conflicts through which each human being may pass and the possible types of reactions with which he may meet these conflicts, will the teacher have a complete story of the development of traits by which to get a perspective on the proper treatment of an observed abnormality.

Struggle in itself is not undesirable or harmful. It is struggle, on the contrary, which gives stamina to the individual. Any educator who thinks only of making easy the road to adult character is attacking the problem in the wrong manner; no program which would eliminate struggle for the individual is a sound one. The critical thing is *to see that the adjustment that is made as a result of the conflict is one that will ultimately benefit the individual.* Character is not made by introducing hardship for the sake of hardship, nor by enabling the individual to evade all hardship; but by a natural interaction between the ego and reality. Life is one grand, glorious struggle, which every normal individual enjoys as long as the struggle does not result in the capitulation of his ego. To prove that we are the master of our environment, that the difficulties of life have only served to prepare us the better for the next conflict — that is life.

The trouble comes when one cannot retain his ego in battles which prove too much for him. It is just such a situation which makes life unbearable for some unfortunate individuals and causes them to adopt peculiar reactions in an endeavor to save themselves.

What constitutes a successful solution of the struggle between the individual as conceived and his environment? Through a long period of trial-and-error adjustment, society has established certain standards of conduct. Through these established traditions certain things (they may be acts, thoughts, or attitudes) are absolutely forbidden, others are tolerated, others given slight approval, and still others lauded as very commendable. Each individual is confronted with these ideals or standards sooner or later and is expected by society to conform more or less closely to them. In such expectation, society makes no allowance for the native equipment of a man nor for any peculiar circumstances which he may have encountered. Society is inexorable in her demands and makes no exceptions. If an individual has not the necessary background to conform to her standards, steps are taken to force him to conform, and if force is not effective, the individual is deprived of freedom in order to safeguard the others who do conform. Regardless of what tests we may have formulated, no matter what academic ideals we may have set up, *the final standard of adjustment is the degree to which the individual can adapt himself to social conditions as they exist.*

To be sure, social conditions vary somewhat in different communities. In some places the laws are more inexorable than in others; thus an individual may get along successfully in one community, yet be immediately in difficulties when he transfers to another. While these differences in tolerance may seem large to the individual coming in actual contact with them, they dwindle when looked upon in perspective; for they affect, as a rule, only borderline individuals, whose adjustments are neither wholly bad nor wholly good.

Let us get before ourselves a little more clearly the nature of the conflict which confronts each person. While the struggle is more or less continuous, there are periods when we cele-

brate our triumphs and take a fresh start. At these points the struggle sometimes seems to take on a different form, and success in the new mode depends largely upon success in the previous ones.

Birth is the first great celebration over difficulties overcome — the first triumph. This has been recognized from time immemorial and birth celebrations are common to all races throughout all ages. The victory which is marked by birth is indeed a great victory. The individual is first conceived after a competitive struggle between numbers of spermatozoa — those not succeeding die, and they are millions. Then comes a period of adaptation to uterine conditions, which embrace every condition which affects the mother; and finally, the period of birth, when the individual has to learn to breathe and to take nourishment through the mouth. Victory over these enormous difficulties deserves felicitation, and most individuals each year celebrate the event of their birth with great pride.

Just as birth may be looked upon as the goal of all the prenatal conflicts, so life's continuous struggle may, as we have suggested, be considered as a series of battles, in each one of which there is a definite goal to be fought for. Let us, therefore, carry on our outline of the normal individual's course of development, from the consideration of hereditary and prenatal factors to the specific, successive, postnatal struggles.

The first great adjustment is to develop from a self-centered creature into a social being, to get a proper balance between selfishness and altruism. When the child is born he is, from the adult point of view, a complete egotist. The outside world means nothing to him except in so far as it causes him comfort or discomfort. If discomfort results from any situation he raises a wail of opposition and continues this until he is

made comfortable. Because of his helplessness and his unyielding insistence upon being waited upon until absolutely satisfied, he succeeds in getting the complete servile homage of all those about him. *At one time in each person's life, the time of helpless infancy, he is lord of all he surveys,* he is a despot of the worst kind. He cannot remain so; as he develops, society requires that he act differently.

The first objective situation to which the individual must adapt, therefore, is the fact that *he cannot have without restraint everything his organism desires.* No longer helpless, he cannot force his desires on others by his helplessness; and, relieved of this compulsion, those about him do not choose to yield to all his whims. Undoubtedly he may be quite successful at first in securing indulgence, but when the novelty wears off the parents or nurse become more or less bored with too great serfdom and begin to cut down on their attentions. Thus arises the first great postnatal conflict of the child — *he must learn that prolonged self-gratification is possible only through a consideration of others.*

Every capitulation on the part of the child comes about only after a struggle in which he uses persistence, trial-and-error attempts, and random activities of all sorts in an effort to gain the desired end. Anyone who has observed an infant attempting to gain food will have observed this. The child will go into a state of continued contraction, holding its breath and becoming tense all over. When this serves no purpose there will be periods of tension interspersed with periods of relaxation and then the child will start all sorts of random activity. He will move all the muscles he is capable of moving, not the least of which will be the muscles connected with articulation. If this does not bring the desired food the child may set up periods of quiet interspersed with periods of tension, giving rise to a rhythmical series of

efforts. This sort of thing only lasts for a short time in the career of most infants.

Children, for the most part, soon come to the stage where they see the uselessness of making efforts on all occasions and soon connect the receipt of the desired object with certain sensory impressions. The child soon comes to making attempts to get food only on sight of the mother or nurse. In other words, he has learned his first lesson; he has learned to connect with the fulfillment of his desires the effects of certain acts of his own on animate and inanimate objects in his surroundings. This leads to the projection of some of his self-love to these objects. As the mother is the one who most naturally satisfies the hunger of the child, she is the one to whom the child first transfers his affection. It must be remembered, however, that *the only reason the child gains a love for his mother is because the mother has gratified the desires of the child.* In loving the mother the child is loving himself; his is a positive response toward the first object which gratifies his desires.

This first lesson of the child's is somewhat of a shock to his ego. When he finds that he is not the center of the universe, that the whole populace is not bent upon serving him, he learns that he can obtain homage from only a small part of it by specific kinds of behavior of his own. This small part therefore takes on great importance for him. It becomes an integral part of his happiness and therefore a part of his ego. For instance, he reacts toward everything which favorably strengthens his connections with his mother and reacts against everything which hinders this relationship.

Love for one's mother or nurse is simply the first step in the development of altruism, but it furnishes the key to all future developments in this direction. One loves his mother because she gratifies his desires but he later learns that full

gratification requires the coöperation of other individuals besides his mother; so, just as he learned to incorporate his mother in his little world, he gradually includes others until he becomes considerate of large numbers of people. He has learned that, *at times, great pleasure will come to him if he foregoes personal pleasure for the pleasure of others.* If this doctrine is merely precept to him he can never live a normal life. If he has learned it through experience and it has become a part of his existence, his conformity to the golden rule is a part of his habit life and means little struggle. This struggle persists throughout life and adjustment between egotism and altruism is continuous.

The individual should realize how he has learned these lessons and appreciate the fact that he expects ultimate rewards for his unselfishness.

To most people the statement that we are fundamentally egotists and that all our conduct is planned for some reward will meet with strong opposition, but such opposition is simply evidence of lack of personal candor. To be sure, our conduct frequently is far from infantile selfishness, but a real understanding of human behavior necessitates a tracing of the motive life back to this stage. Very few people will admit that their altruism is simply a good method to gain gratification; but unless one sees this he is lacking in insight into his own inner life.

While the child is learning that it does not pay to attempt to gratify his own desires without consideration of the wishes of others, he is encountering another difficulty in the way of complete satisfaction. He finds that the immediate gratification of a desire often prevents him from enjoying something that would have given him satisfaction had he foregone the first pleasure. He, for instance, omits his afternoon nap so that he can continue his play, and learns to his chagrin that

his afternoon's indulgence has cost him a trip to the movies. He learns that his failure to consider the future made him pay too big a price for the small pleasure of an omitted nap. Thus *he has to learn the lesson of foregoing pleasure for future gratification.*

This, too, he has to learn through painful experiences. It is a very hard lesson and few people make a final, completely satisfactory adjustment in this respect. At first it appears in very simple states; the child must not grasp every article of food that appears on the table as soon as he is seated. At first he does so; but as he is restrained and finally punished if he does not refrain and eat in due form, he learns that he gets more to eat and more social approval if he eats with reserve than if he eats like an animal.

Moralists misleadingly elaborate upon this phase of development and hold up ideals which the individual can achieve only by long periods of prolonged abstinence from certain immediate pleasures. As a result many persons tend to feel, quite erroneously, that their future happiness is in direct proportion to their present sacrifice. For instance, a man saves his money so that he will have plenty to enjoy himself when he gets older; but unfortunately when he gets older, he has acquired the habit of doing without the pleasures that money will buy, so that he cannot enjoy his money when the planned-for future arrives. Take another and equally familiar example. In a still further elaboration we build a vast ideal picture of a future life filled with pleasures to compensate for our failure to receive pleasures in this world. This may be merely a form of consolation for disappointments, but it can also be so exaggerated that one denies himself all sorts of innocent pleasures so as to increase the amount in store for him. *It takes an exceptional individual to attain the proper balance between delayed gratification,* that is, the withholding of

gratification, *and present indulgence.* No teacher can teach her pupils this balance unless she has learned the lesson herself.

The adjustment to the failure to experience the maximum of pleasure by immediate gratification may present the child with a third situation requiring adaptation. Delayed gratification is never sufficiently immediately satisfactory no matter how much the ego may endeavor to consider it so; therefore the individual is presented with the temptation to steal a little gratification. Such attempts to deceive others lead to the tendency to be untrue to one's self — a most pernicious and insidious tendency which is at the root of most instances of maladjustment. This leads to the third essential adjustment — *the necessity of being honest with one's self.*

The child has the ideal of delayed gratification, but on the sly he tries to gain a march on the rest of mankind by stealing some immediate gratification. If not checked this leads to the most pernicious form of hypocrisy. Honesty becomes a scheme to keep the other fellow from taking your things so that you can steal his. We berate the profiteer but we are very willing to make a little excess profit ourselves. We preach generosity to others (they should be generous toward us) but we are inclined to be generous only in so far as such generosity will net us some reward. One cannot carry on such attempts to deceive others without learning to practice the same duplicity upon himself. A boy is promised that if he stays in the house and takes care of the baby he can go swimming in the afternoon. As soon as his mother leaves he goes to the barn to play with the gang while the baby shifts for itself. If he is clever enough the mother does not learn of his faithlessness and he gets his swim as well as the stolen pleasure of the morning. His mother in her ignorance is quite pleased with the whole affair. "How easy!" thinks the boy. He makes excuses to himself and pushes aside the

thought that he has cheated his mother and the baby. If one can only practice such tricks upon himself he is sure to be happier than if he is aware of all the unpleasant things! Thus he begins to deceive himself, to invent false logic to uphold his own ego, to excuse his faults by blaming others, to forget certain things of which he is ashamed, and to invent others more pleasing. In this way, he begins to destroy his personal insight.

To be sure, deceit practiced upon others does not inevitably lead to self-deceit; but unless one learns to cheat others he will not be likely to cheat himself. The teacher should see that this lesson of fair dealing is learned in the schoolroom. Situations frequently develop in which the children put up with something they do not like, so that they may enjoy something in the near future. The dishonest can steal some of the future reward but are likely to be caught by the other children if they attempt to do so. In these experiences, the children can be taught to postpone some of their pleasures, to pay for them by present discomforts, and to be honest in their dealings with others in this respect.

Let us now summarize the development of the normal ego through these typical struggles. It starts with supreme self-interest in immediate gratification. It learns that gratification comes in response to certain specific situations and through consideration of the satisfaction of others, and transfers its love from itself to those situations and individuals that promote this gratification. It then learns that certain pleasures are only obtained by foregoing other immediate pleasures, and so finds a proper balance between restraint and gratification. Finally, through being taught fair play in the application of ideals, it learns to be honest with itself, thus gaining that rare gift of insight so necessary to mental balance. These lessons, if properly learned, make a social being,

one who appreciates reality in contra-distinction to his ego, one who gives and takes in the human contacts of life, and one who finds gratification in advancing the ego of others. These things are learned in the struggles with environment that are sure to come as a result of the individual's desire to advance his ego. In attempting to understand human adjustments one must never lose sight of the fact that the ultimate drive back of every adjustment, back of every struggle, is an ego impulse.

Self-preservation or the advancement of one's ego is not, however, the whole of life. There is another group of tendencies which advances along with the ego, which is intertwined with it at every point and which can, in many instances, be differentiated only with difficulty from the ego life. This group comprises all the race-preservative tendencies. All the complexities and irradiations of this group begin with tendencies toward self-gratification, which should be so modified by the various struggles that the individual finally learns that the keenest happiness comes from making a loved one happy. A little consideration will force us to admit that tendencies toward race-preservation must originate in situations which are satisfactory to the organism. We are not innately interested in the next generation; we do not begin in infancy planning to hoard money so that we can endow schools, colleges, and hospitals to assist in the elevation of the race in generations to come. The wish to have a family is developed only after a long period of training, and even then in a great many individuals such a desire is nothing more than an attempt at selfish gratification.

The development of interest in race preservation from its simple beginnings is much more complex and much more fraught with dangers of error than is the development of the ego. It is in this field that the greatest difficulties come

in reaching an adequate adjustment. In early life the infant learns that stimulation of certain parts of the body, the lips for example, gives rise to pleasurable sensations. Discovery of these parts comes accidentally in connection with the satisfaction of hunger, being fondled by nurse and other adults, or through exploratory movements of the child's own initiation. Once having found such a sensitive locus, the tendency is to continue the situation which brings the pleasurable sensation. A child, after he has gratified his hunger, may suck his thumb or anything else which may be within his reach, in order to prolong the pleasure arising from the sucking movements. It is in just this manner that the child accidentally learns the sensitivity of other portions of the body and likewise attempts to prolong the situations which first brought this sensitivity to his attention. These first organic pleasures are very vague and indefinite in their character, but there is a very definite line of progress from them to later social activity. *The child learns that while he can derive pleasure of this sort from his own activity, the pleasure is enhanced when aroused by others,* most often by the mother or nurse. This leads to the natural desire for the mother or nurse to fondle him, rock him, carry him, or to continue any contact that leads to the extension of this vague organic pleasure. In his attempts in this direction he is almost sure to be rebuffed, especially if the organic pleasure becomes more definite and localized in the genitals. Elders very emphatically teach the child that any attempts to gain pleasure from this source are not viewed with approval, and so the child must either desist or fall back upon autoerotic (self-gratification) habits. The ordinary child soon passes over this period; only a few have a prolonged fixation here, and these few have to be given special attention. The majority find that the social dis-

pleasure that their acts incur is not compensated for by the vague pleasure they derive from the acts; they desist, and pass into a period of latency until the budding of adolescence. It is quite likely that the social standard is the best thing to use to get a child over a threatened autoerotic habit. He can be told in a simple, non-emotional way that people do not usually do such things, just as they do not eat with their knives. It is only when a child has been improperly treated that such an appeal will not work, and such cases must be given specific attention in accordance with the treatment they have received.

If the child has learned his social lessons properly by the time he comes to adolescence he should be weaned away from purely selfish gratification so that with the budding of sex life he presents a natural interest in the opposite sex. It must be remembered, however, that *love for others is primarily a way of getting self-gratification;* it is built upon this desire. *The final lesson of love for others is never learned until one sees that the highest peak of pleasure is reached only when he has given maximum pleasure to another.* The peak of this development is attained in making wife or child supremely happy. Too many people, even among those who seem, superficially viewed, to be very happily married and to have a happy family, are still in love with themselves and fundamentally unsatisfied. If a woman marries in order to permit a man to make her happy, if she has children solely that she may have someone to love her and be a source of pride to her in her old age, she is inviting disappointment.

Just as a socially well-developed man takes no pleasure in sitting down to a big meal by himself and gorging, so no one who has made the proper advancement in his sexual life has real pleasure except in the complete happiness of another person of the opposite sex. If one is simply trying to use others

as tools for his own gratification he gains no real pleasure; if he gives himself up in his efforts to bring complete happiness to another he has reached the *summum bonum* of satisfaction. Yet it is well to remember just how this *summum bonum* is reached — that it must start with the selfish gratification of one's organism and that it must progress to the complete loss of self in the gratification of another. Each individual is somewhere in the line of progression between these two extremes. It is only as one sees this whole range of possibilities and understands the steps of progress along this line that one can hope to understand any particular individual and point out to him the next necessary step toward the goal. It is not enough to see a goal; one must know the essential requirements for reaching it, if the goal is to mean anything real.

While the later stages of this progress may seem far removed from self-gratification, it should be remembered that *the only reason for any stage of progress must be the yield of more satisfaction than was afforded by the stage preceding it.* If there is no incentive for advance there will be no progress. Hence, too much satisfaction for the advances already made, too much emphasis upon the pleasures afforded at any one point in the ladder constitute a bar to progress. The individual must learn that each step furnishes its own type of reward, and that each successive reward increases in the keenness of its satisfaction. The child should never be permitted to be satisfied with anything but the final reward.

With the study of the adjustments that must be made to the race-preservative tendencies, we reach the last on our list of the conflicts through which the normal or type individual passes. Thus have we formulated an outline of the course of trait development in a normal person, against which to check observed abnormalities — an outline starting with the

origin of tendencies in the germ plasm, and carrying on through the crystallization of traits under the effect of prenatal and postnatal environment.

Before going on to the consideration of abnormalities, let us stop to see where the teacher or parent may help the normal individual during the postnatal conflicts that we have just been considering. At various times attempts have been made and are still being made to organize a definite scheme that will forever end the struggle for the individual — that will make the pathway clear to all. This is impossible. There can never be a fixed and definite philosophy either for the individual or for the race. *Each person must learn to adapt himself to life as he finds it.* The best that educators can do is, profiting by the mistakes of others, to arrange external conditions, of which the educator's training is itself one, in such a way that pupils will be assisted over difficult stages.

To train a child to retain the proper attitude throughout all his adjustments is an art. Skill in this direction distinguishes the real teacher from the mere "servant" of the school system. When the child comes to school he is rarely very far along in his social development. He has learned to transfer a little of his affection to his mother and perhaps his brothers and sisters; but on the whole he is still almost completely wrapped up in himself, still an egotist. How is he to be made into a social being?

It cannot be done by holding before his eyes an abstract ideal of generosity and consideration of others. *To be effective, an ideal must contain a reward*, and this reward must not be so far removed that the child thinks its attainment impossible. The postponement of gratification is a gradual process and must be built up slowly. Hence, it is useless for the teacher simply to tell the child that if he is generous he will be happier than if he is ungenerous. Most frequently this means nothing

to the child; if he should understand the meaning of the statement he will not believe it to such an extent that he will act on it. Just as he is taught other things, a child must be taught generosity through simple, objective beginnings. The reward for generosity is social approval. If it happens that the child does not have an appreciation of social approval, teach him to have it by seeing that he gets a taste of it. Then, after he has learned to crave social approval, direct things so that he gains this reward only when he has displayed generosity.

Recognizing social approval as a constantly present and always powerful factor to be used in training the child, the teacher needs to watch its use carefully. The natural temptation is to display the child one likes or who does good work, to the disgust of those whom one does not like or who cannot do excellent work. This does not make the displayed child social; moreover, it has a bad effect upon those who are thereby humiliated. The flattered ones will become arrogant and even more selfish as a result of such treatment, and the neglected ones will probably form a coterie of their own and set up their own standards of approval. These standards will involve the exclusion of any boy or girl who does anything that the teacher approves, as well as those having anything to do with the "teacher's pets." For the teacher to succumb to this temptation, therefore, is to hurt directly the children of both classes; moreover, by putting herself out of touch with the pupils, the teacher destroys all chance of giving them future aid in character building. After such a state of alienation has been created the teacher is powerless. The boy who is punished by the teacher sometimes becomes the hero of the reactionaries. She wonders why the boy is so immune to punishment and fails to realize that every punishment she administers is regarded by him and all his comrades as another mark of distinction. Teachers sometimes ridicule a child

when he fails to get his lessons, or when he fails to do something that is required. Shame should never be used as a punishment. If the teacher ridicules the child for violating some law of her own she may be making a hero of him because he has been brave enough to defy her. She thinks she is punishing him but she may be making him the leader of the "gang." This is not, of course, the only danger.

The actual procedure to be used to avoid this result and to train the child out of his egotism must be the product of the particular situation, and often requires ingenuity — ingenuity such as was shown by the teacher in the following incident: A teacher of the first grade had a very troublesome boy in her class, who defied her in every possible manner. His father punished him and various attempts were made to correct him, but with each attempt he grew in favor with the rest of the boys. The scheme was finally devised of organizing a fraternity, whose standard was self-control. In order to make it sound imposing, it was called the "Gamma" fraternity, and each member had the privilege of wearing a distinguishing pin. Anyone in the class who showed self-control was admitted to membership and could be dropped when he lost self-control if the rest of the children agreed that he had violated the standard. The first boy elected was the uncontrollable boy and in turn, through the course of a few weeks, everyone in the class was enrolled. The change in the boy was remarkable; he had been bad to gain social approval, now he was good and "self-controlled "to gain the same end. His metamorphosis had a good effect on all the rest of the children as well, and the teacher's position was strengthened with the whole class.

Of course the final result of the development from egotism to altruism is based on selfishness and always has a selfish component: one is altruistic because he gets most happiness

that way; one loves others because of the satisfaction he gets from their love and because of the pleasure it gives him, in return, to give their love gratification. There is no need for humiliation because of *this selfish element,* though it *should be tempered more and more until it is pretty well hidden* beneath the later adjustments that the individual makes. The thing to be considered is the necessity for development towards altruism; for some adults who never get away from sheer narrow love for themselves, form in themselves the background of many types of abnormalities. Such people are called *narcissists,* after Narcissus, a mythical character, who saw his reflection in a stream and fell in love with it. If a narcissist falls in love with another, he does so simply because he sees himself reflected in that person; he never becomes a social being. Each individual goes through a narcissistic stage and if he never gets beyond this period, part of the blame for his arrested development must rest with the teacher; for it is the teacher's privilege to guide pupils past the pitfalls of narcissism.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Teach pupils the joy of achievement and thus enable them to meet difficulties eagerly.

2. Make sure that the child experiences the joy that comes from making others happy. Substitute this for the popular tendency to hold up an abstract ideal of unselfishness through which the child is led to believe that he loses all and gains nothing.

3. Teach the child that progress is made through adjustments. It is only through the surrender of cherished things that one gains greater treasures.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Why is mental analysis an intricate task?
2. What part do difficulties play in the formation of personality?
3. What is the final standard of adjustment?

4. What is the relative importance of differences in social standards?
5. How is the ability to delay gratification learned? What dangers arise here?
6. Trace the development of altruism and love for others.
7. What is the incentive for development?
8. In what circumstances might a punishment act as a reward?

CHAPTER IV

Crystallization of Traits — Reaction to Conflict

Let us now resume our outline of the crystallization of traits in a normal individual. Having considered the individual conflicts that constitute the life struggle of a human being with his environment toward the goal of social adjustability, let us complete our outline by considering the different methods that the individual may employ in meeting such conflicts. We can best conceive of the real nature of mental struggles by keeping before us the analogy of the ordinary type of warfare. In conflicts between human forces in international warfare we may have one of three outcomes: one side may gain *victory*, may be forced to *compromise*, or may suffer complete *defeat*. It is seldom that one side suffers complete defeat or attains complete victory; the result is usually some sort of compromise. One side or another may yield less in the compromise; we usually consider the side victorious which yields the less when it comes to final settlement. If we consider that victory and defeat are two extremes connected by a straight line, every adjustment finds a position somewhere on this line. The same thing is true of every human adjustment. Seldom do we attain to complete victory in our mental battles; fortunately it is also seldom that we suffer complete defeat. We are all striving, however, to have all our compromises fall as near as possible to the victory end and as far as possible from the defeat end of our line.

So much for the outcome of our mental warfare. Let us now turn to the different methods of fighting. In tribal or

national warfare there are two types of battle, the open face-to-face battle, and the guerilla method in which each side hides and attempts to sneak up on its opponent and attack it at an unexpected moment or from an unexpected quarter. These two types of battle also occur in mental life. We have the conflicts in which all the elements are perfectly obvious, in which we are conscious of the nature of the trouble and of the possible solutions. When this is the case we can meet the issue squarely and the outcome will be determined by the interaction of these purely conscious elements. More often the warring elements are not consciously appreciated by the individual. The forces behind the conflict were mustered far back in the infancy of the person. They have been pushed into the background, or into the unconscious realm, but still have been gathering force as the years go on, and so influence to a large extent the issues which confront the adult. This guerilla warfare is so predominant in most mental conflicts that the real nature of the difficulty is not apparent on the surface. The enemy comes out only in disguised form, is welcomed as a friend, and in the end turns upon his victim at the most inopportune time when the victim is off his guard. *To have one's enemies behind one's back is poor strategy; and it is even worse to push one's mental enemies into the subconscious.* The attempt to forget is simply paving the way for the unwelcome memory to attack us at some future date in a wholly unexpected and unwelcome manner. No method of cure for mental disturbances of psychic origin can be permanently successful unless it is designed to bring the elements of mental struggle into the consciousness of the individual patient; any attempt to cure which results in pushing these elements further into the background is merely storing up future trouble for the individual. One may, through faith in a talisman, charm,

amulet, shrine, or individual, temporarily submerge his troubles still deeper, but they are still there. One cannot destroy dynamite by burying it, and the more covering you place over an explosive, the more violent will be the damage when the eruption does occur. Knowing this, the teacher's task is to discover the first signs of a mental struggle in her pupils, see that the nature of the struggle is clearly apparent to the child, and then help the child to win the battle. If, ignorant of the presence of mental conflict, the teacher helps the child to forget his trouble, to repress rather than to fight it, she is doing the child untold injury and paving the way for future trouble.

We will now summarize briefly the different attitudes that people adopt when they meet mental enemies.

I. AGGRESSIVE ATTITUDES

One way of meeting an ememy is to meet his every advance with renewed opposition, to be the aggressor and put him on the defensive. The very fact that at one time one is defeated may act as a stimulus to anticipate the enemy the next time. This offensive may be continually maintained or may be intermittent in character. The latter is apt to be the result when the increased effort has failed in removing the opposition. If, on the other hand, the increased exertion has been effective, the individual is likely to maintain this aggressive attitude whenever confronted with a difficult situation. Such an individual is alive to the full extent of the battle, is anxious to fight, and enjoys nothing more than meeting a difficulty; to him the expenditure of extra energy is enjoyable because it leads to victory. If, however, the first and subsequent results are failures, the intermittent nature of aggressiveness is likely to be emphasized, the periods of increased output of energy alternating with periods of retardation of action.

gloominess, and even despair. The person who manages to maintain the aggressive is likely to retain a normal mental attitude, for whether he succumbs or wins, if he faces the enemy, he has made an objective stand, he has made a frank recognition of reality. Such an individual is called an *extrovert* as contrasted with an *introvert*, one who plays a defensive rôle. The former turns out from himself in his action against opposition; the latter turns in upon himself in his attempt to escape the enemy.

II. DEFENSIVE REACTIONS

All the following are defensive reactions, or those of an introvert.

A. *Undervaluing the strength of the enemy.* There is no doubt that if one becomes convinced that he has strength superior to that of opposing forces he is vastly stimulated to enter the fray. Hence, if one can minimize the strength of the forces that arise to disturb one's mental equilibrium he is not so likely to be frightened into a retreat at the first sign of opposition. Thus he seeks to gain courage for the impending fray by undervaluing the strength of the enemy. For this reason, we have a strong propensity to make light of serious things. We say to ourselves some other individual may be tempted to do some vicious thing but no temptation like that ever comes to us. Yes, the thought of some untoward act has occurred to us but it passed like a flash — we really thought nothing about it; it could not be strong enough to affect us. Thus we deceive ourselves as to the strength of the elements in our mental life; thus we persuade ourselves that the opposing force in our battle with temptation is not comparable in strength to our ability to overcome it.

B. *Avoiding battle.* Another attitude to assume toward conflict is to avoid the battle. There is no opportunity for

failure, we argue, if there is no battle. Thus we bulwark ourselves against possible failure by withdrawing from the conflict. This is frequently done in either of two ways:

a. Refusing to meet the difficulty. When each attempt to make an adequate adjustment meets with failure one may tend to feel that effort is useless and may refuse to make any further attempts. "What's the use?" is frequently heard, and after one hears a recital of the events leading up to such an attitude, one may be at a loss to point out just why one who has always failed should keep on trying. To retire from reality in this manner is, however, the confession of total failure, and as long as such an attitude is maintained success is impossible. This tendency often starts in the pouting reaction of a child. Something goes wrong and he is punished, so off he goes into a corner and pouts. Such pouting may be accompanied by ideas which tend to mitigate failure, but it may also be a mere flight and admission of defeat. For example, one may be cross-questioned until he is cornered. If this occurs frequently, the individual may be tempted to refuse any answer. If keeping silent is simply temporary and is accompanied by plans that will lead to success the next time, such behavior may be all right, but if it is simply a refusal because of total loss of self-confidence in one's ability, the results are fatal. The ultimate end of such individuals is a complete withdrawal from reality to such an extent that they simply vegetate (extreme introversion); they have to be tube fed; they will not talk, smile, or respond to any impression either of a painful or pleasurable nature; and since they are totally inaccessible, their condition is hopeless.

b. Denying that there is any issue. During the recent war there were sections of the world where people were so cut off from the rest of society that they were ignorant of the fact that there was a war. They were living in peace and were

enjoying themselves. Suppose such individuals, when informed that there was a war, had simply said they did not believe it, and had gone about the even tenor of their ways. This is exactly what is happening in the mental lives of many people. They have two or more conflicting groups of ideas which are absolutely incompatible. The refusal to recognize their incompatibility solves the problem as far as they are concerned. The story is told of a very religious man who one day took advantage of a woman in a business deal. The woman returned later and took the man to task. She virtually made him admit that the transaction had involved dishonesty on his part, but he refused to make good the loss that she had sustained. In a last effort to bring him to terms she reproached him for doing such a thing in view of the fact that he was supposed to be a good Christian. He ended the argument with the statement that "religion is religion, and business is business." To obtain psychological unity he needed to harmonize the two things — either make good on his business deal or repudiate, to some extent at least, his religion. To ignore the conflict between the two was simply a childish way of avoiding the issue altogether. This method is not only childish but dangerous as well; if carried to an extreme, the offender may have vast portions of his mental life severed from the rest, a state eventually leading to double personality.

C. *Refusing to consider defeat.* When the individual has been unable to avoid conflict or to conquer it, he may defend himself in his defeat by refusing to consider it, or by explaining it away. In the first case the individual may center his attention on previous victories, compare himself with others even less fortunate than himself, or take refuge in phantasy.

a. Falling back on previous victories. The exaltation which comes when one masters a situation is a very impor-

tant incentive to continued effort when a new difficulty arises and should be so used. If, however, the new situation results in disaster, one then tends to renew the memory of the preceding victory and substitute the joy which he derived from that victory in order to overshadow the chagrin of the present defeat. He attempts to forget the most recent unsuccessful battle and keep the preceding victory in mind. Then, when he comes to another encounter, he still has the attitude of victory. Now if this second encounter is successful he will pass upward a step and have a new victory to exult about and to urge him to further encounter. If, on the other hand, the later attempts are all futile, he gets the habit of continually going back to his one previous success. He fails in all his conflicts but ignores his failures and still retains the vivid impression of the experience in which he did succeed. This is what is called *regression;* it *is a return to a preceding stage in one's life where success attended one's efforts.* If a young man attempts to make love to a girl and is repulsed he will tend to return to the love of his mother, which is a successful attachment and which has given him much joy. If such regression is simply a way to recruit strength for a new adventure in the field of romance it serves a good purpose, but if it becomes a permanent shelter it is no more than a coward's retreat. Even after marriage one is likely to make returns to this previous maternal love and often trouble is caused by such a return. Everyone is familiar with the quarrel which results when the husband becomes disgruntled and compares his wife's cooking with the previous culinary successes of his mother. The reason why the wife so keenly resents such a comparison is the fact that she has a subconscious feeling that her affection has not proved absolutely satisfactory and that her husband is thus exhibiting his dissatisfaction.

b. Comparing ourselves with less fortunate individuals. "As you can see, I have a black eye; but you should see the one that John Jones has!" — thus does the speaker console himself for his lack of boxing prowess by the fact that some other man got even more badly punished than he. To be sure all social and personal judgments are based on a comparison with the characteristics of others; but to select a single individual, or even several, who are markedly inferior, and use our superiority as a basis for self-congratulation is certainly a poor way to blind ourselves. To show that there are some poorer in worldly goods than ourselves does not place us any higher up on the scale toward financial success. This method of self-consolation simply kills any initiative we may have to improve our position.

c. Daydreaming about what we might have done. It is very easy to dream about imaginary situations and to get great gratification from this sort of thing. Exaggerations of this tendency lead to very weird results of the most harmful sort. It is fine to have a good imagination; but, as will be shown later, normal adjustment means facing reality, and the more time and energy spent in the world of phantasy, the less capable one becomes of meeting an actual difficulty when it does appear. People who become excessive daydreamers may progress to the extreme that leads to somnambulisms or sleepwalkings, double personalities, and hysterias.

D. *Explaining away defeat.* The individual may, instead of avoiding consideration of defeat, console himself by explaining his defeat away. The obvious thing for him to do in such circumstances is to shift the blame or make excuses. *The general term for this excuse-making is "rationalization," which consists in doing or thinking what we desire and then selecting reasons why we do or think so.*

a. Blaming others for failure. The most satisfactory and the most usual method of explaining away defeat is to blame others for our shortcomings. A young man who has failed to get a position will not admit the superiority of the successful candidate but will say that his rival had a pull because he was a relative or was engaged to the boss's daughter. If we invest in securities whose value goes down we say the "Wall Street Gang" manipulated things. If we cannot blame anything more tangible we console ourselves and cover our helplessness by saying, "It is God's will." Some individuals receive great satisfaction from blaming certain undesirable feelings or impulses upon the subtle influences playing on them through "animal magnetism," etc., claiming that the influences are produced by individuals who are trying to injure them. This form of excusing our failures is so satisfactory that, once adopted, it is very hard to overcome. The only way to check it is to see that it never gets a strong hold on young individuals. This tendency, when carried to an extreme, leads to delusions of persecution which may be defended by great accumulations of evidence entirely false but implicitly believed in by the patient. Such patients are called, clinically, *paranoids.*

b. Placing the blame on uncontrollable circumstances. If something happens in our favor we compliment ourselves upon our skill in controlling conditions so as to bring about such a result. If the result is of the opposite sort we immediately bemoan our ill luck, bad health, or heredity. Hence, when one breaks down on account of a severe mental battle (the reason for which he does not wish to admit) he will blame his ill health on overwork, too close study, etc. The proportion of cases that come from overwork is about as small as the proportion of events that are caused solely by chance or luck. One of the things that have to be continu-

ally borne in mind in our study of mental abnormalities is that the obvious reason for a disturbance that a boy or girl will give is not often the real reason. While it is not necessary to contradict the person who gives a trite reason for his trouble, the effort should consistently be made to go farther and find the real cause.

These, then, are the attitudes which every individual may adopt toward the many conflicts in his adaptation of the ego to reality; these are the reactions which give the final touches to trait crystallization. Few conquer in their conflicts at all points, but the suicide alone admits total defeat, for to admit total defeat is to give up entirely. What we actually have in most cases is some form of armistice with the enemy, some compromise. Since in effect, however, every compromise is a retreat, the individual's success in the mental struggles of life can be accurately gauged by the extent of his compromise. Checking him up against our now completed outline of trait crystallization, we can measure each individual's degree of success in character development by noting the steps in the development of the normal individual and then discovering to what point in this line of progression the individual has attained or has reverted.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Be on the lookout for signs of compromise in children. One who is apparently adjusted may be covering up a severe battle. The hidden struggles are the most bitter.

2. Cultivate the confidence of the children so that they will be willing to narrate their difficulties to you.

3. If there is evidence of conflict in a child who will not confide in you, get someone whom the child trusts to win the story from him.

4. Do not attempt to fight the child's battle for him. If he can win without any help he is better off; but, if he should need a little help, be sure to give it to him and at the right time.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What are the possible outcomes of warfare?
2. How does a compromise arise?
3. Describe two types of mental battle.
4. What is the importance of bringing conflicts to the surface?
5. Outline different types of defense reactions.

SECTION II

DIRECT STRUGGLE — COMPROMISE WITH REALITY

CHAPTER V

The Face-to-Face Struggle with Reality

We have tried in the preceding chapter to show the nature of mental conflict. Man is not battling against some mysterious external power of whose nature he is in total ignorance. When a mental conflict arises it can only be between groups of ideas — groups that have been built up by previous experiences of the individual himself. The conflicting mental elements are simply the results of hereditary tendencies and of certain episodes in the developmental history of the individual; adjustment between the results of previous experiences and present situations calls for continual modification and rearrangement of the mental materials. Oftentimes when this readjustment is rather difficult, one is tempted to use subterfuge and ineffective measures rather than to meet each issue squarely as it presents itself. The elements of the conflict are usually overlaid with a thick coating of defenses, which the individual uses to protect himself against any revelation of the real nature of the trouble, of its underlying causes. The discovery of these causes is the only way to do the individual any permanent good. If we keep these facts about mental life before us, the development of specific mental states in the following chapters should be easily understood.

The most satisfactory way to respond to a difficulty is to meet it squarely; when one does so he has a fair chance of winning. Any type of compromise is fraught with disadvantages, and as the compromises increase in complexity one en-

counters greater and greater chances of losing in the struggle. Consequently, before taking up the various forms of compromise and the mental disturbances which arise from their use we will outline the successful way to meet difficult problems.

We recognize the successful man as soon as we meet him, not by what he wears, nor by his conversation, but by the self-confidence with which he reacts to every situation as it comes before him. He has learned to be master of himself and his environment, and all who meet him can see that he is master. We are not easily deceived by sham success, we all are able to spot the "bluffer," the failure who assumes the air of self-confidence. Among the dogs in our laboratory we have a cowardly one. This particular dog barks the loudest when a stranger approaches. He runs out and snarls and gives the stranger the impression that he is the bravest dog in the kennel. All one needs to do, however, to test him, is to stop and look directly at him. He will run into the kennel with his tail between his legs and will whine in the most agonizing fear. Just as this dog cannot very long deceive the stranger, so the person who has learned to be a failure cannot long deceive his comrades by bluster. He overdoes the initial attitude of self-confidence, and, despite this attitude, retires at the slightest discomfiture. *A simulation of the attitude of success cannot pass for the real thing.*

Let us first consider the essentials to success. We all recognize that success in any struggle requires what we commonly call will power; what a certain congressman called "intestinal stamina." Now, if this characteristic is a mysterious gift which is donated to some individuals at birth and withheld from others — a characteristic that cannot be developed or improved — it would be useless to discuss it here, except to indicate that its lack might lead to dire results. There is much scientific evidence to show, however, that will

power is not any such mysterious entity, but a thing which is largely the result of training. *The characteristic which is back of all manifestations of will power is the tendency of all organic matter to resist any situation which tends to destroy the integrity of that bit of matter.* It is possible to take a tiny one-celled organism and demonstrate that this primitive creature will attempt in various ways, which indicate increasing persistence, to rid itself of some outside influence which, if long continued, would do the creature real harm. Furthermore, it can be shown that the amount of energy which such a creature puts forth is in direct proportion to the strength of the opposing situation; and the failure of one attempt to remove it simply increases the creature's efforts.

This is the same sort of thing that happens when a man is exerting his will. The only difference is that the man's demonstration takes on a more complex form due, of course, to the complexity of his organism as a whole. A normal man, when confronted with a situation which causes an unsatisfactory state of tension, will exert himself to remove or modify the cause of that condition, and will continuously increase that exertion. If his increased effort is successful, the unsatisfactory tension is removed and a feeling of satisfaction supersedes. He is rewarded for the exertion of this energy; and will, of course, tend to make the same sort of response the next time he meets with opposition. It can be seen from this that threatened failure is a stimulus to effort, and that this reaction, if sufficiently sustained, modifies the conditions so that the individual succeeds. We honor one who has a strong will; one who meets every sign of opposition with a sufficiently continued bending of every energy to remove that obstacle to success.

A strong will is, then, nothing but a name for the habit of success, and a weak will is a name for the habit of failure.

Both start with the same tendency to meet opposition with extra energy; the difference in result is purely the difference in the degree to which the extra energy is sustained and continuously reapplied; and such difference in degree is itself simply the result of difference in training. The same laws of learning, therefore, govern the acquisition of a strong will as govern the acquisition of skill in typewriting, piano playing, or any other complex act. If a man cannot operate a typewriter we know that he has not been trained to do so; or that, if a consistent effort has been made to train him, he has not the ability to learn. Just so, if a man has no will power it is because he has not had it developed; or, if a fair attempt has been made in the proper manner to develop such will power, it is because he has not the ability to learn. It is not just, therefore, to conclude that an individual has any innate lack unless the proper methods to teach the individual have been used.

For the sake of illustration let us agree that if a child yells for three hours in order to obtain a piece of candy he shows persistence or strong will. How would we go about training a child to yell three hours for a piece of candy? If the candy did not cause the child to cry at first we would have to teach the child to like it. Then suppose we got him so that he would cry when he saw it and was kept waiting an instant for it. If we give the candy to the child at that time it will be a reward for his crying. The next time that he sees candy he will tend to use the same method for securing it, for each time we reward him by giving him the candy when he cries. After we have shown him that crying is a good method to use we begin to delay the surrender of the candy so that he has to cry a little longer each time. We must be sure however not to withhold it too long; when we see that he is about to weaken and give up, we immedi-

ately give in and he secures the candy. In this way we can gradually prolong the preliminary requisite crying period until we can extend it to any desired length. It is just such training that teaches a child to match his will against that of his parents; and if he is a good student he often wins the day and proves more than a match for them. A baby at birth does not display violent temper, pouting, or long continued crying in order to gain what he desires; he learns such types of behavior because he is rewarded by his parents for the manifestation of the particular form which irritates them most easily. Hence, if you have a child as a pupil in school who sulks, who goes into a tantrum, who is a cry-baby, or has any other such method of securing his desires, you can be sure that some of his guardians are brought to terms very readily by such conduct. The only means of correction is to teach him some other and more desirable way of persisting in his endeavors to get what he desires. On the other hand, the parents often unconsciously punish the child for being good — he gets no reward for this except neglect. In such a case, as far as personal comfort is concerned, being good is a failure, and the child often will not attempt the types of conduct which lead to such neglect. In other words, in the direction of being good, he develops the habit of failure.

Now, because childish persistence may often manifest itself in ways which are not wholly desirable, we tend in our educational program to stifle persistence. We forget that, regardless of whether or not we like the form of action expressing the willfulness we find in the child, the willfulness in both cases has been developed by the same means, and in either case the trait is the habit of success, which is certainly more desirable than its opposite — that of vacillation, spinelessness and half-hearted irresolution. We want the child to

persist, but we often stupidly insist that he persist in the things we like and not in the things which reward him. If the child shows strong will in things we do not like we dub him obstinate, stubborn, "hard-boiled," perverse, unruly, or headstrong; if he persists in the things we desire we speak of him as determined, strong-willed, resolute, brave, unflinching, or game to the backbone. In teaching our pupils to be pliant in some things and resolute in others because of our likes and dislikes of the things themselves, we have in our modern system too much tendency to overemphasize the yielding attitude. The range of originality which we will permit in our schools is, as a rule, very narrow; and our great desire seems to be to teach the child to conform. Persistence is not often formed by outlining definitely the path to be pursued and then urging the child to follow. Under such definite guidance he is constantly watching for the approval of the teacher and the slightest nod of dissent will cause him to discontinue his own course and search for that which pleases the teacher. The nonconformist is in disrepute.

This condition is now recognized by educators and attempts are being made to give the student problems to work out and to have him persist in his efforts, in each case, until he has found a solution. Such methods should produce men of greater stamina than resulted from the old coaching system.

The ordinary opinion is that a child has little persistence and that as he grows older this characteristic increases in intensity. This is not the case. An adult may persist in a certain trend if he sees clearly a reward for such determination but he will not do so without an incentive; *a child*, on the other hand, *is stimulated by a task itself regardless of any outside reward*. This difference in persistence was brought out in the results of a test made on adult college students and elementary school children. The test consisted in working out

a series of maze puzzles. The whole maze, with the exception of a small section of the path, was covered. Some of the pathways could be blocked off or opened at will so that four different maze problems could be set on the same board. At first the child was given a very easy one, next a fairly difficult one, then a still more difficult one, and finally one which had no solution. The first three taught the child to expect success and the last was given to see how the individual would react to failure. These tests were given in school periods so that the child could not work longer than forty minutes on the last maze, but the surprising thing is that in no case did the child give up until it was time to stop. The adult college students reacted quite differently. Most of them gave up the last problem in from ten to twenty minutes. They might have been induced to stick to the problem by the offer of some reward, but the task itself was not enough of an incentive to cause them to persist. There were several exceptions to this — one especially marked. This young man worked for over an hour, very carefully going over the whole maze, and finally produced a picture of the maze as he had worked it out to prove that it could not be solved. It is the writer's opinion that *this is the type of individual that an educational system should produce — one who attacks a problem with no incentive except the desire to conquer and does not give up until he succeeds or convinces himself that the solution is impossible.*

By what training can we produce such individuals? How can we train our pupils to continue persisting in the face-to-face struggle with reality until success is theirs? We can do so by setting for our students problems gradually increasing in difficulty, assuring ourselves all the while that they persist until they succeed in each one as it comes along. The teacher's task is not primarily that of imparting information. Enough information has to be given to furnish working

materials for the pupil, but he must then work out his own problems. The primary task of the teacher is that of a supervisor, who must be sure that the tasks are hard enough to obtain the child's respect and must see that he gains the habit of success by a long continued series of conquests.

No matter where or how we live each of us will have many mental battles. If we hope to be successful we must, in addition to mustering the habit of success to which we have been trained, insistently meet each issue squarely, instead of trying to excuse ourselves, endeavoring to forget what has passed, or attempting to compromise in any particular. We must admit, to be sure, that even if we look each situation squarely in the face we may not be strong enough to meet the issue, and may fail, but we know the chances of such failure are less than if we refuse to meet the issue. When we ignore the issue we are sure of defeat.

We may intrigue ourselves into thinking that after a cowardly retreat we have won, but our self-deception is not often very complete, and we can seldom deceive others. For example, a little boy was one day very much frightened by a dog. He screamed and ran in great fear to his father, who was standing close by. As a matter of fact, the dog had merely been playing with the child, who had been told earlier that this particular dog would not hurt him. After he reached his father he became very much ashamed of his cowardice, but did not want to admit the fact. In order to uphold his self-respect he said, trembling with fear and excitement all the while: "I am not afraid of that dog, I am not afraid of any dog. I could hit that dog and knock him clear across the street. I could whip any dog. I could even whip Daddy!" Do you think that the father was deceived by these little protestations of bravery in the face of evident fear, or would any other bystander have been deceived? As a matter of fact

the boy himself was aware that the remarks were idle; he had to increase the degree of bravery indicated in each statement because the previous one was obviously insufficient to cover the fear reaction. This is a childish reaction, of course, but a good many adults are doing exactly the same sort of thing. The chief difference is that as people grow older they become cleverer and more subtle in the ways in which they express their idle boasts and more skillful in covering the real reasons for their pretensions.

To summarize, there is no real or lasting gain to be derived from blinding ourselves to reality, and there are several distinct advantages that follow candor. They are:

1. *One can learn the habit of success.* Each victory is a real victory and strengthens one for a more severe struggle. Self-deceit, on the other hand, is a pitiful compromise which leaves one mentally debilitated and less fit for future encounters.

2. *One retains his mental integrity.* The man who has been frank with himself never suffers from a nervous breakdown unless there is some disease or organic lesion present.

3. *One can hope to have some understanding of others.* By being candid with himself he can understand their motives, can be tolerant of their weaknesses, can admire their virtues, and can assist them when they need help.

4. *One can keep his self-respect.* The self-respect that comes from self-deceit is hollow and ephemeral.

5. Finally, *one can merit and receive the respect of his fellows.* A man who is not willing to face his own personality cannot be frank in his dealings with others; moreover, the effort to deceive himself so consumes his energy that he becomes an open book to those who observe him. The man who sees himself as he is, can devote some of his energy to bettering the less desirable features of his personality, instead of spending it all in a vain effort to hide the defects. The people

with whom he comes in contact see that he is candid, they note that he is working for his own betterment, and consequently they have confidence in him and seek his friendship.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Let the child use his own initiative; do not suppress independent efforts. Help him only when necessary. Do not let him blindly follow your suggestions.

2. If a child is stubborn let him work his willfulness out on problems instead of tempting him to resist your disciplinary system.

3. Cultivate the desire to persist in a task once started until it is successfully concluded. Do not train the child to substitute outside rewards for the reward of accomplishment.

4. Teach the child to take defeat honestly when defeat does come.

5. Make sure that the child gets no social approval as a result of blustering.

6. Try to make children see the value of meeting difficulties squarely.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Give evidence to show that opposition stimulates exertion.
2. How is the will developed?
3. How may we attempt to hide defects?
4. How is vacillation developed?
5. Distinguish between juvenile and adult persistence.
6. What is the teacher's part in the development of persistence?
7. What distinguishes the successful man?
8. What advantages follow candor with ourselves?

CHAPTER VI

Compromise with Reality

Compromises with reality in the mental sphere may take one of two general forms, or be a combination of these. The two forms are forgetting and distortion. As a rule distortion occurs only when the first is impracticable or has been tried and has failed. Very early in our lives, we recognize that incidents grow dimmer and dimmer with the course of time. How satisfactory it would be if we could only remember with great vividness all the pleasurable things and forget all the unpleasant! So we try to make memory a highly selective process, making an active effort to reinforce the memories of pleasant experiences and an even more ardent effort to forget the unpleasant. It very often happens, however, that the most unpleasant things have made the strongest impressions, and so this active attempt to forget becomes very difficult.

Let me illustrate the difference between this active forgetting and ordinary dimming of a retention pathway with disuse. Suppose, never having visited a large city, I make a long anticipated trip to one of the great municipalities. There will probably be such a large number of novel experiences that certain ones will stand forth more vividly than the others. After I return home and relate the incidents of the trip to my friends I will narrate only the outstanding incidents, and though I could recall many others should the occasion suggest them, they gradually grow dimmer and dimmer until, after a few years, very few things can be recalled definitely, compared with the wealth of memories

that were present at first. This pictures the ordinary process of forgetting.

If, on the other hand, something extremely unpleasant occurred to me, the process will be quite different. We will suppose that, as I was walking up the street and was gazing at the tall buildings, a group of street waifs yelled out, "O, Rube, when did you get in?" I got very angry and ran after the nearest one, slipped on a banana peel, fell into a gutter and rose all besmirched. In a great rage I returned to the hotel and changed my clothing, getting angrier all the while. My trip "was entirely ruined." I finally decided, however, that I would not let the incident spoil my trip; but, not wishing to admit that I was at fault, I took the alternative of trying to forget. Forgetting, however, is a hard job; the details were impressed only too vividly on my memory. Now, every time I see a tall building I am reminded of the event and angrily turn from the building in my endeavor to forget. I hate tall buildings. When I see a small boy I am again reminded of my unpleasant experience and, refusing to think about it, I turn angrily from the small boy. I pass a fruit stand and see some bananas which remind me of the peel that caused my slip, and in order to forget I rave to myself about people who throw banana peels on the sidewalk, saying they should be arrested. My raving diverts my mind for a time. So, in order to forget the unpleasant incident I express anger against innocent objects. Furthermore, when I narrate my experiences after my return home I will carefully avoid all reference to this particular incident. Although many things in my story will suggest it, I will immediately block myself against any reference to it. After a few years I will get quite proficient in keeping it from coming up into my consciousness, and to all intents and purposes it will be forgotten.

But the interesting part is that it will never be forgotten; the traces will still be deeply ingrained, and *the only way I can forget is to keep out anything that has any reference to the incident.* Trivial acts on my part will show that the memory is still present. For instance, as a result of this experience I may go into a perfect frenzy of anger whenever I see a banana peel lying about. I do not admit to myself why I become angry, but discourse on the accidents that such carelessness might cause. What I say is true. *The singular feature is that my emotional reaction is too excessive for the immediate cause.* I am angry not because of this particular banana peel, but because of the one upon which I slipped. I do not admit this, but express my anger against the present one. I may further hate the sight of tall buildings and develop a perfect horror of looking up at them. "It is against all laws of nature to build so high. We were made to walk upon the ground, and we are only running to the same ruin that confronted the men who attempted to build the tower to heaven which caused our present diversity of speech," I rave. My friends listen with tolerance, not noticing my fervor; or, if they do, not understanding its cause, and excuse it as a slight personal peculiarity.

Thus we repress unpleasant memories, but how much energy we expend doing it and in what unfortunate peculiarities it results!

The other method of saving our ego is to distort the facts. The ways in which this is done are exceedingly numerous and will come out in greater detail later. We can indicate a common method in relation to the illustration before us. Suppose I cannot keep the unpleasant memory covered, and it does bob up, so that I give away the fact that I have had an unpleasant experience. I must distort the facts; I narrate them so that they do not look so bad. I may, for example, make a

joke of it — or try to. So I tell the story as though it were a good joke on myself. I "get the laugh," but since I originated the tale, I can tolerate "the laugh." Or, I may pass it off as a trifling experience and tell half the facts. Or, I may use it as an illustration for moralizing and tell how poorly trained are the youth of big cities. Or, I may touch up the story and tell how I caught the urchin by the back of the neck and gave him a lesson he will never forget — thus making myself the hero.

This is all given to show that *the fundamental reason why an individual does not face the issue as it should be faced is shame,* which is a tendency to avoid anything that will in any way degrade his ego. He does not want his personality to be lowered in the least; so he either forgets or distorts in such a manner as to keep his ego on top.

Now the severity of the mental conflict is not wholly in proportion to the vividness of the impression that we wish to forget but more especially in proportion to the chagrin we should feel should the thing get to the surface. *The greater the shame caused by the recognition of a mental fact, the greater the tendency to keep it down.* Our mental integrity is largely determined by our emotional attitude toward the undesirable ideas. A weak mental fact may cause a tremendous struggle if it is related to something that is exceedingly shameful.

What are the things we are ashamed of; what are the things that we will not admit into our integrated selves?

1. In the first place *we will not admit that we are selfish.* We recognize selfishness as a childish reaction, and to acknowledge it as a part of ourselves is to admit that we have advanced little from the childish estate. We may not assert that we are completely altruistic but we at least want some of the signs of it.

2. *We do not wish to admit that we are mortal.* We hate death so we have arranged to have it look as little distasteful as possible. Even with all our elaborate funerals, expensive vaults, and fine monuments, the only way that death can be looked upon with equanimity by most individuals is with the hope that death does not end all, that there is a future existence for them in some form or other.

3. *We do not want to admit that we are afraid.* Cowardice is a vice which denotes a weak will, and strength of will has always been held up to us as a moral trait.

4. *We do not wish to admit that we are mentally, morally, or physically inferior.* We are early forced to learn the hard lesson that other individuals beside ourselves exist and have rights similar to ours. But, in addition to this, that we should have to confess that we are markedly inferior to others in any particular which we consider desirable, is the crowning indignity; and we resent it with all the resistance it is possible for us to muster.

We are reluctant to admit the presence of any of these four undesirables, but the repugnance of the different items varies considerably according to the values we have learned to place upon them. For example, death is hateful, and we would absolutely shun the notion of it were it possible to do so. It is thrust before our vision so continually, however, and is so apparently the unavoidable end of all of us, that we must recognize it. For this reason the fact that we must die is seldom the cause of a mental upset. The death of a friend may precipitate an undesirable mental condition, but this is due to the severing of a love bond and not to death as such. We all know we have to die and we have learned not to let the prospect cause any shame. There is a degree of shame, on the other hand, with even a slight admission of possession of the other three. We are all subject to fear, and as much as

we may be ashamed of it, we are forced to admit this, though we will not admit that we are wholly cowardly. We admit that we are not physically perfect; but, since we are not accountable for this, we hide our shame, and blame the defect upon our ancestors, upon parental care, or upon disease. Intellectual defect is more shameful to admit, and every effort is made to keep up an intellectual front. When it comes to the moral sphere, any admission of inferiority is ruin; we must maintain our moral ideals.

Now, if it is true that the extent of mental disturbance is determined by the degree to which we tend to hide ideas, and the extent to which this tendency manifests itself is in proportion to the shame we feel concerning certain groups of ideas, and if the group which furnishes us the most chagrin in the event of inferiority is the moral group, it can be seen that *most mental conflicts take their rise in ideas related to the moral sphere.*

High and inflexible moral standards are accentuating factors. In most spheres of life the norm or standard is determined by the central tendency of a group, and more individuals lie somewhere near this central tendency than near the extremes of the group. In the moral sphere this is not the case. We are not considered moral for the most part if we are as good as the average run of humanity. We have set up lofty standards based on the attainments of a few exceptional individuals, and this is the goal toward which we all strive. The man who *thinks* evil has already committed evil; the man who commits one sin might as well have committed thousands, for he is bad; we are either perfect or we are vile — such are the teachings that we receive, that set the goal toward which we strive. It may be justifiable to set high ideals provided too much guilt is not attached to a slight deviation from that lofty goal. It must be remem-

bered that, even though fixing the goal very high may on the whole somewhat raise moral behavior, the higher the ideal that we establish the greater will be the deviation in a larger number of cases from that goal. To establish a very high ideal and then make the punishment for infraction as great as would be inflicted for infringement of a lower standard is to cause, therefore, a greater amount of punishment. We must have ideals; we must have chagrin and shame when we fail to measure up to the goals we set for ourselves as a result of the teachings we have received; but if we are going to have adults who keep their mental balance, who are going to look at life squarely and have integrated lives even when they are not so perfect as they would like to be, we must remember that *ideals and conduct must be mutally interactive and modifiable.*

In most spheres of moral conduct the line of procedure is usually well-defined and the child is clearly taught what is permissible and what is not. Besides, he has a fairly clearly defined outline of the relative enormity of each type of misconduct. He may originally want to eat everything that he sees, but he is taught that when what he wants to eat belongs to somebody else this original reflex tendency has to be modified to include other steps; instead of *hunger — eat,* the procedure must be *hunger — work — money — buy — eat.* The omission of any step is a crime and is punishable. Shame need only come when he has made some such omission. The same is true of other things. He has to die, but he is taught to safeguard his life by taking proper food and exercise, and to care for his health in other ways, so that death will come only as an inevitable sequence to a well-spent life. He is taught that to slight any of the safeguards of life is wrong — the worst of all the series being to take his own life. The whole moral lesson is placed clearly before the child, but the fact

remains that even after this is done the individual may still be criminal in his neglect of himself — may even commit suicide. Moral teaching, therefore, in spite of its prevalence, does not insure moral living.

Though *teaching does not insure morality, it does provide the possibility of a sane attitude toward life*, the ability to triumph over mental conflicts. Lack of clear teaching is the cause of many mental troubles or of insane attitudes toward life. We cannot emphasize this too strongly. Just as light is the best destroyer of death-dealing micro-organisms, *so is intellectual light* — clear teaching — *the best destroyer of mental conflicts*. The teacher has it in her power to do much toward freeing our hospitals of future cases of psychogenetic disturbances. It is hopeless to expect the greater part of parents to become sufficiently skilled to do this — they cannot compare their children with other children without prejudice and hence cannot apply educational methods properly; and the physicians meet only the worst cases. The teacher, by applying the proper instruction at the right time, can do much to help destroy mental conflicts.

This brings us to the sphere where the child receives the least light; that realm where the light he does receive is distorted so that he is all confused as to meanings and values; that realm which, experience shows, is the source from which springs most of the cases of mental disturbance — the realm of sex. We noted above that every child is taught that hunger is proper but that to gratify hunger he must go through preliminary steps — *work*, *money*, *buy*, and *eat*. Why cannot he be taught that sexual appetite is proper but that to gratify it he must go through certain steps — *sex hunger* (libido), *courtship*, *marriage*, and *gratification?* But he is not so taught. Teachers and parents teach him nothing; they exhibit the greatest horror if the child expresses a desire to learn. If

they teach him anything it is likely to be that the whole subject is indecent, including any impulses of this nature that he may have. He learns secretly. Thus the very knowledge itself is an immoral thing to him. He gains the knowledge and is then ashamed that he knows. There are persons who in later years never lose the idea that the whole subject of sex is vile.

If one entertains an extreme view of this sort and then awakens to the fact that he has a sex life, how is he going to harmonize the two? This is a serious problem for a vast number of people; and it is remarkable, in view of the education we furnish, that as many young people make as good an adjustment as they do. Sane education would make the problem considerably simpler. The attempt to conceal and heap shame on the subject simply makes the whole matter unbearable in many cases.

Let me illustrate what I mean by the exaggeration caused by the attempt to conceal. Suppose, as I crossed a busy thoroughfare, I was almost run down by an automobile. I should naturally be frightened. In time I should partially recover; but suppose that the next time I attempted to cross I was again terribly frightened by a narrow escape from injury. If this were repeated several times I should very likely develop a great fear of automobiles or of crossing the street. Suppose that, as a result of these experiences, I was standing on the sidewalk trembling with fear and that someone asked me why I was frightened. I would tell him I was afraid of crossing the street and would probably tell him why I was afraid. This is a perfectly natural fear reaction, and if I ever wanted to overcome my fear I should know just exactly what I had to fight — a fear of being run down by automobiles — and why I had the fear. On the other hand, suppose I had been taught that automobiles were vile; that people did not

mention them in polite society; that attempting to cross a street when an auto was in sight was even more vile; and that to be run down by an auto or to be threatened by one was the height of vulgarity. In such a condition, I should not dare tell anyone why I was frightened. To divulge the nature of my fear would be to ruin my reputation. Still the fear would be real, I would have been frightened and I should not be able to avoid showing my fear. Suppose, to repeat, a friend came along, saw my plight, and considerately asked me the cause of my fear. I should not dare tell him. Nor could I tell him I was not afraid; so I should attach the emotion to some other object — the nearest thing at hand. Often this thing is most absurd, and I am likely to answer that I am afraid of the curbstone, or of an adjacent tree. Such a fear is unreasonable but it is assumed as a natural defense against the divulging of a reasonable fear.

This process is known as emotional displacement. We may pass judgment on one who makes an unreasonable statement, saying that his rational processes are not functioning properly; but this indictment is unjust and does not get to the point. *He invents this silly answer because he has a real fear that he cannot divulge.* Now, we have shown that the one great sphere where shame rules supreme is the sexual sphere; and so when we find a person expressing a real and uncontrollable fear for a trivial reason we can presume that the real thing feared is likely to lie in this sphere.

Sex, of course, need not always be to blame for emotional displacement; but we can be sure that, even though the real cause for a fear assigned by the individual to some trivial cause, is not of a sexual nature, it is a fear of something which he is absolutely ashamed to divulge. As a case in point, a certain patient was brought into a hospital because she had a fear of killing her child. She hid all the knives in her house

so that she would not carry out the suggestion, but a voice seemed to whisper to her that the rolling pin would do just as well. She would hide that, but it would then be suggested that she could easily knock the child's brains out with a chair, etc. So tormented was she with this fear that she had to be brought to the hospital for care. Yet at the same time she insisted that the fear was foolish. She had no desire to kill the child; she loved him dearly; she loved him so foolishly that she had spoiled him by gratifying his every whim. She argued with herself that she could not injure a fly — she was so kind-hearted — and yet the fear persisted. Her logic was no match for it. Such a fear might not stand for the same underlying fear in every individual in whom it occurs, but one thing is certain: *if the obvious fear is silly, it must stand for some real fear which confronts the person.* One is not genuinely afraid of nothing, and if the thing which appears as the outward object of fear is absurd or ridiculous, and especially if it offers a contradiction to the patient himself, *it must stand for some underlying thing which the individual is ashamed to admit even to himself.*

Before the birth of the child this woman had been worried by the prospect of motherhood. Motherhood would mean to her financial embarrassment, the loss of valued pleasures, and an increased burden of home duties. As a result of these unpleasant thoughts concerning the future, the temptation came to her to produce an abortion. The thought of such an act was so horrible to her that she drove it from her mind and was filled with horror that such a thought should ever have occurred to her. Her very fear of the idea fixed it more firmly and she was filled with terror lest it should return and gain possession of her. The sight of her baby and its appeal to her mother love only served to place the earlier temptation in a still more terrible light. What if she had yielded! Then

she would not have her darling! She did not dare to admit to herself that she ever had had such a temptation. Nevertheless the emotional reaction to the temptation was there and expressed itself as a fear that she might kill the child.

Now it often happens that when, in trying to get at the bottom of such a case, one unravels the story of a patient's life, he finds that the real basis for a fear or other mental disturbance is in some trivial thing which happened in the infancy or early youth of the patient; that, because of ignorance and the silly attitude that the patient took toward the elements of the conflict at that time the conflict assumed tremendous proportions; and that, when the thing is brought to the surface, the patient wonders why he or she could have been so disturbed about a thing of so little importance. In other words, a conflict which originated because of the uninformed attitude of a child, which was suppressed into unconsciousness in an attempt to forget because of false shame connected with the subject, has caused the person to become unbalanced and finally to break down under the weight of a load which has assumed unwarranted proportions.

In developing the personality of our students we should be broad-minded in our education on sexual matters. We should *dispel the child's curiosity as it develops;* take a wholesome attitude ourselves; and attempt to lead the child to as wholesome a view. We should not go beyond the extent of the child's curiosity, and above all things never approach the subject with an air of extreme mystery or with bated breath. We should recognize that improper thinking in connection with sex matters may cause peculiarities of conduct. By correcting such thinking we may prevent the development of such peculiarities into a more serious maladjustment.

Life is a sacred thing and there is no excuse for a child's being ashamed of its propagation. An excellent method of

leading children to a proper attitude toward sex has been adopted in one school. In the first grade a period is set apart each day for story-telling and these stories are largely taken up with what is happening in nature. The children are taught about the flowers, about the birds, their building of nests, their hatching of eggs, and their care of their young. The children showed a natural interest in the hatching of the eggs and in order to give them a wholesome attitude a hen was brought to school and permitted to incubate a setting of eggs in the room. The hatching took place just before Easter. The children watched the incubation with great interest. An egg was opened after a few days, the process of fertilization explained in simple terms, and the tiny beginnings of the embryo shown to them. Several days later the teacher offered to open another egg to see how the embryos were developing. The children objected, saying that then the little chick would be killed, and they did not want it to die.

This indicates how *moral sense is developed by a candid explanation of natural laws.* Thus may children be enabled to avoid the compulsion of false shame, which, as we have just shown, drives them to forgetting or distortion in compromise with reality.

HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. When something unpleasant has occurred teach the child to use it as a guide to prevent similar occurrences instead of urging him to forget it because it was unpleasant.

2. Every excessive emotional reaction is significant, especially when aroused by something ill calculated to cause it. Hunt for the real cause of such an emotion.

3. Answer frankly a child's questions about life. Do not evade, do not go into greater detail than is necessary, do not lie, and do not answer in a hushed voice. In other words, your answer should satisfy his curiosity, not stimulate it.

4. Send the child to nature to learn his lessons of life. Nothing is better calculated to instill a wholesome attitude.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss the selective nature of memory.
2. Distinguish active forgetting from ordinary forgetting.
3. Indicate the difference between a conscious and an unconscious compromise.
4. Explain what is meant by distortion.
5. How does shame affect the severity of mental conflict?
6. Of what things are we ashamed?
7. How do high moral standards affect distortion?
8. How can distortion be prevented?
9. Explain the development of emotional displacement.
10. Why does a hidden conflict lose its severity when brought to light?

SECTION III

COMPROMISE WITH REALITY — UPHOLDING THE EGO

CHAPTER VII

Forgetting Reality — The Daydream

Reality is a hard master. How sweet life would be if we could taste only of the pleasurable elements! But when we try such a plan we soon discover that the unpleasant is a constant accompaniment of what at a distance looked to be wholly desirable. We taste some strawberry shortcake and think how delightful it would be to make a complete meal of this dainty, and to eat all of it that we desire. Such a meal however turns out to be lacking in satisfaction and brings discomfort and pain in its wake. Another person has something that we covet, but if we try to take it we find ourselves in jail and under a ban of social disapproval. Life is truly hard. We cannot have what we desire and if by chance we get our fill of some coveted thing we find that the result is disappointing.

When these disappointments occur we are inevitably led to make a comparison between what we anticipated and what reality gave us. We find invariably that *the pleasure we imagine always excels the actual pleasure.* There is always an element in reality to mar our full enjoyment; while in looking forward to some happiness we rarely see these unpleasant realities. This being the case, unadulterated pleasure comes in the period of anticipation, because *in our imaginings we select only the pleasant factors for consideration.* For this reason we are prone to emphasize and prolong the period of anticipation; in other words, we are strongly tempted to live in the world of imagination rather than in reality. Christmas is a glorious occasion for the boy because for days he looks forward to its

pleasures. The hunter's dinner is appetizing because he increases his anticipation with each step involved — hunting, capturing the game, and its preparation on the camp fire. One who has read and dreamed about the great sights of that great city often expresses disappointment that New York is not so large nor so magnificent as he imagined, and even Niagara Falls fails to measure up to his dreams. The consummated pleasure leaves disappointment in its train because the anticipation was too extreme. The newly made millionaire is chagrined that his money is not more of a source of pleasure than he finds it; the bride learns, often with bitter feelings, that sordid reality is linked up with marriage, when she pictured nothing but ecstasy.

The effects of this lesson may tend in one of two directions, and the individual may find his bearings at any point between two extremes. On the one hand he may decide, consciously or unconsciously, that since reality is so cruel and since the world has only disappointment, he will live in the land of dreams. There all is pleasure unmarred by false friends and rude disappointments, so why not dwell there? On the other hand, he may give up all anticipation of pleasure for the reason that he has always been disappointed, so living a crabbed, sordid life which has no pleasurable elements in it. Such an individual cannot enjoy a sunshiny day because it is sure to be followed by rain. The normal individual strikes the mean between these two extremes; while he realizes that pain must come, he discounts it because, by contrast, the pleasure is so much the sweeter; and, when he has some pleasant experience, he is too sane to expect forever to live in the seventh heaven. He enjoys life when he may, but is not unbalanced when the joy is supplanted by sorrow.

There are two types of individuals classified by the manner in which they tend to shun unpleasant experiences. The

first type finds it relatively easy to arrange the undesirable incidents into one unified group and blot this group from conscious life. The other type cannot readily make this grouping, and is constantly on guard in all directions. People of this latter type are not able to block off the unpleasant section and the only way for them to obtain peace is to be continually fighting unpleasant thoughts. Whether an individual is of one type or the other is a thing that recent experimentation has made comparatively easy of determination.[1] Mr. Lee Travis, working in the laboratory of the Iowa Psychological Clinic in conjunction with the writer, has found the following to be true:

In one group fall those individuals who —

1. Can readily lose themselves in reverie or daydreaming.
2. Respond, during a period of reverie, to a weaker sensory stimulus than when paying strict attention to the stimulus.
3. Can be hypnotized.
4. Show dissociative type of abnormalities; that is, the multiple-personality type.
5. Are suggestible.

In another group fall those individuals who:

1. Cannot abandon themselves to reverie without some check on what they will daydream.

[1] The test used to separate individuals into these two groups is comparatively simple. By means of an audiometer the lower intensity threshold is determined. The person is then placed in a room totally dark except for the illumination of a crystal ball, into which he is told to gaze and attempt to lose himself in reverie. He has a telephone receiver attached to his head and is told to press a key should he hear a tone but to make no effort to hear it. While in the state of reverie, his threshold is again measured. All the lights are then turned on and he is told to pay strict attention to the tones in the receiver while his threshold is taken for the third time. There are two distinct types of reaction to this situation. One group of individuals respond to a tone that is weaker than any they can hear either before or after the reverie. These persons constitute the first group described in the text. The second group require a louder tone in order to respond during attempted reverie than they do either before or after the reverie period. These persons fall into the second group described in the text. We have never succeeded in hypnotizing a person whose threshold rose during crystal gazing.

2. Respond, during a period of reverie, only to a more intense sensory stimulus than when paying strict attention to the stimulus.
3. Cannot be hypnotized.
4. Show shattering of personality abnormalities.
5. Are negativistic.

Let us consider the first group in connection with the repressing of ideas and see how the different factors enumerated can be linked together. This type of person is a successful forgetter. He has no compunction concerning blocking a portion of his existence from consciousness. If the unpleasant parts are not extensive the result is not apparent and any memory defects he may show are not striking to his unobservant companions. When the unpleasant ideas assume greater importance or embrace a great portion of his existence the blocking out becomes more difficult and he grasps at the slightest thing that can aid him. He is alertly on the lookout for some method of aiding his forgetfulness and so is very keen to accept any suggestion which may present itself to him.

Any incident or characteristic in himself or in the environment which tends to remind him of the distasteful portion of his existence is likewise treated as though it did not exist, so that in extreme cases the individual may show loss of tactile sensibility over certain portions of his body. These spots were in olden days called devil's claws and were found on witches, who obviously fall into the group we are describing. If the movement of the arm, leg, or any part of the body became in any way connected with the undesirable experiences, it was likewise ignored, and might become insensible or paralyzed as the case demanded. If these individuals were constantly reminded of their troubles through things they saw, they would be unable longer to see. They

literally carried out the injunction, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out; if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off." They did not actually sever the disturbing member but they deprived it of its function. These disorders are known as functional disorders: functional blindness, functional paralysis, functional anesthesia, functional tremors, etc. They are functional because there is no physiological reason why the part should not function, and further it can be shown that the part can and does function when not connected with the group of ideas which the individual is trying to ignore.

When ideas form themselves into a unified group, the group is called a complex. The thing which unites them is an emotion and so each complex has an emotional tone of its own. This emotional tone may be pleasant or unpleasant, but since one readily acknowledges the pleasant experiences no attempt is made to forget or to distort these. Hence, it follows that complexes that have been submerged always have an unpleasant emotional tone.

It must be remembered that the submerged complex is not dead; it is merely submerged more or less successfully and is very likely to come to the surface. If the repressing is at all successful, then the connections between the complex and the rest of the individual's activities are very few and weak. Consequently, should he become occupied with the complex he, in turn, loses connection with the events and thoughts not connected with the complex. They are distinct groups that cannot become unified; he must be occupied with either one or the other.

Now there are certain conditions that favor the mounting of the complex to the surface. It must be remembered that some effort is required to keep the thing out of consciousness. Hence, relaxation of any sort tends to permit the complex to rise to the surface. As a matter of fact, at times it is a

relief to the mind to be occupied wholly with the complex, and after such a period the individual is better able to pursue his regular work. In periods of relaxation, therefore, the person is free to forget his present surroundings and lose himself in reverie. Under such circumstances the mind wanders back over these unpleasant experiences and they float in review before one, not, however, in their true form, but in the form in which the individual would like to have them. *This daydreaming is a simple form of permitting the complex to come to the surface in a way that will gratify the dreamer.* The individuals of the first group readily fall into this state of daydreaming; they seem to get great satisfaction from it, and once they get the habit they can be observed on every occasion going off into reverie. They allow their imaginations to riot intemperately, and can form the most beautiful and weird plots for stories and novels.

When in this condition these persons are entirely off their guard and are keenly susceptible to the slightest external influence. The dream is pleasant, they have no compunctions about dreaming, and are not constantly tense lest the dream turn in an undesirable direction. If they receive a stimulus from the outside that requires action they will answer automatically, but never leave the realm of blissful dreaming. Hence, when tested in the laboratory it can readily be seen that their sensory acuity is increased under these conditions. More popularly, they are the ones who can make automatic movements, such as automatic writing, moving ouija boards, etc. They can be hypnotized, since hypnosis is simply an artificial sleep which enables them easily to depart for the land of dreams; and when in such a condition these individuals readily enact the situations or scenes connected with their complexes.

The abnormal exaggeration of the tendency towards phan-

tasy becomes apparent when the individual begins to lose control of the situation and involuntarily goes off into the dream state in all sorts of untoward circumstances. But in all forms from the simplest and normal types to the most complex and abnormal, it must be remembered that *the characteristic feature is the dissociation or the blocking off of a part of the personality from the rest of the self.*

The first stage of phantasy is the daydream. It is very easy to build castles in the air, and the structure and principle of daydreams is very simple.

1. In the first place *the content is always pleasurable.* It is more pleasurable than external facts would warrant in a situation of similar nature. This must be so, for if the external facts were as pleasurable as the daydream, one would have no occasion for the phantasy.

2. *The daydream always expresses a wish;* usually a wish which experience has shown the dreamer cannot be realized or which he has learned is to be realized only with difficulty and at the expense of accompanying displeasures.

3. *The daydreamer is usually reticent about divulging his daydreams* even though the content may be perfectly simple and harmless. In this first stage of phantasy he usually realizes that it is a weakness to spend too much time outside the world of reality. A daydreamer who shows none of this reticence is very likely to advance to the more serious stages of phantasy life.

4. *Daydreaming reaches its highest peak at adolescence* when the individual is confronted with a number of problems, the significance of which he but dimly recognizes and concerning which he is often discouraged from speaking.

5. *The content of a daydream,* if one can get at it, *throws much light on the inner conflicts of the person, because the daydream is so simple and free from distortion.* The desires of

adolescent boys and girls are highly important in their development, and one who wishes to do mental hygiene work with people at this age would do well to treat with respect and intelligence the daydreams of these young people.

The dangerous aspect of daydreaming comes when it is employed definitely as an escape from reality. When such a process is started, a vicious circle results which has no ending. The individual fails to meet some actual situation adequately. Instead of admitting failure and attempting to strengthen the weak points so as to succeed better next time, he daydreams of what he might have done, and reaps great satisfaction from this imaginary victory, thus submerging the chagrin of actual defeat. This method provides no preparation for a similar situation, and the next contact with reality brings a second failure, which in turn is buried in another series of daydreams. This training makes the person feel very inferior and helpless in the face of actual situations, until he shuns all efforts toward success and lives more and more in the artificial world he has built up in his imagination.

A concrete case will show clearly the daydream reaction. A young girl of sixteen was brought to the hospital with the story that she had tried to get some morphine. In her early adolescence she began to be much concerned with the ambition of being a movie actress. For a long period she thought, dreamed, studied, and talked of nothing but movie stars, their life, and what she would do when she became one. She dwelt upon this so much that she failed in the first year of her high school course, although she was intelligent and had done good work until this period.

It developed that this girl had from early childhood been denied excitement — even normal activity — and affection. Her mother had made a good girl of her, according to the

mother's ideas, and told with pride how the daughter would keep a dress clean for days and how she had always lived a sweet and beautiful life. Underneath, the girl was aching for excitement, and while she did not break forth, she filled herself with lurid imaginings of what sport it would be to be a bad girl. She read in the papers murky tales of narcotic dens, and began picturing herself as a dope-fiend with such detail that she actually felt herself to be a drug addict. She longed to find out whether she could get some morphine, and went to one of the drug stores which had been raided and obtained what she thought was "dope." However, she was afraid to take any of the pills, which later turned out to be milk sugar. At another time she took some chloroform to see what would happen. Her attempts at obtaining excitement in reality always fell short of her anticipations and so she always fell back upon the imaginary situations.

In addition to the repressing of all excitement, the mother had devoted little affection upon her, saying that she had never believed in "this hugging and kissing nonsense." This unsatisfactory state of affairs led to the patient's imagining experiences in which she obtained love. Usually this was in connection with some woman. She formed several homosexual attachments but usually found them unsatisfactory for one reason or another, and so would again fall back upon imaginary attachments.

The superintendent of a school which she attended described her as follows: "A normal companionship with fellow students and instructors was difficult on account of a tendency toward excitement and an inability to reason soundly, and because of her abnormal self-interest and vanity. Her conversation was apt to consist of imaginative stories and narrations given as fact, the nature of which sometimes indicated unwholesome thought."

The imaginings of this girl never took such deep root that they were actually accepted by her as reality. She tried to reap from them those pleasures the circumstances of reality prevented her from actually obtaining; but she always realized the fictitious nature of these experiences. When she was led to see the cause of these phantasies and the futility of them, as far as gaining any real pleasure was concerned, she was enabled to give them up and to live a rational life.

Often the phantasies take a more firm root than daydreams do and then the patient may become hallucinated — that is, accept these imaginations as fact. When a hallucinated person is found it is not always possible to locate the mental processes which led to this condition, but in some cases the mechanism is so clear that we are enabled to see how one can get into this condition through a development from simple daydreaming.

An instance of this is that of a young girl who used to build imaginary pictures of what her future life would be like. She had visions of ideal love affairs, more or less platonic in nature but mixed slightly with eroticism. She would spend a large part of her evenings fitting herself out in fancy lingerie and parading before the other girls in the boarding school where she was a pupil to gain their plaudits. All the time that she was doing this she was imagining what her future husband would exclaim concerning her beauty in similar situations. Her ideal seemed to be some sort of imitation of a Turkish harem where she would give esthetic dances before the man of her choice and receive his commendations and compliments upon her grace and beauty.

Sadly enough her dreams never came true. She married at the age of seventeen, found in a week that her husband was nothing like her ideal, and regretted her marriage. Nevertheless she did not separate from him for seven years. During

all this time she describes herself as having felt like a dead person. She had before her marriage felt "like a bird in a tree"; then she felt as though some one had shot her and she had fallen to the ground and had been dead ever since.

About the time of her separation her father had wrecked the family finances, and in order to replenish the family exchequer she arranged a cold-blooded marriage with a man twenty years her senior. She explained that this second husband agreed to marry her in order to help the family financially. She says that she never loved him and was never in sympathy with his manner of doing things. His temperament is of an extremely practical sort; she is fanciful and poetic. She likes to vary life's program, but he has fixed habits that cannot be changed by a hair's breadth. She says, for instance, that she can tell the day of the week by the tie he wears. He has one for each day and keeps them carefully piled with the next day's tie always on top. She has no real satisfaction in her marital relations and everything he does irritates her. She wants to be complimented upon her personal appearance, but when she "dolls" herself up he does not even notice it.

From this unpleasant situation she escaped by reverting in phantasy to that happy state where all is joy and happiness. While in the hospital she actually lost connection with her surroundings and lived the life that she had always wanted to live. She was extremely playful in the way she had been when a girl. Clad in thin, airy clothes she delighted in dancing before the victrola. She felt as though she were "bubbling over." She would playfully watch her chance and run toward the men's ward, and would be led back laughing as though it were a great joke. All her activity was that of a playful girl of the early teens. She did not care who was around or what they did. She was wholly absorbed in her own phantasies

and if she reacted to any one or anything about her, it was as though they were early acquaintances (misidentifying people on the ward and calling them by other names) or situations in which she had lived at an early age. This state of isolation with her own psychic experiences was very marked and remained consistently uninterrupted for several weeks during the first part of her stay in the hospital.

Gradually she came to pay more attention to her environment. She would answer relevantly, but would presently take one off with her into her phantasies. She seemed to be actively hallucinated in the auditory and visual fields, but what really was happening was that she was interpreting all visual and auditory stimuli in terms of her phantasies. For instance, on one occasion she had the doctor look out the window in among the trees where she pointed out and described babies among the leaves and imaginary people in the street.

Her recovery was very rapid after it once set in, and with some help she gained insight into the mechanism of her trouble. She realized that she had taken this flight because of her unsatisfactory marital situation. She refused, however, to change the conditions as they existed because she had no real grounds. Her husband, she said, had been as good to her as he could be. All the trouble was because she was not of his temperament, and she had known that before she married him; so she felt that it was her place to make the best of a bad bargain and do as well as she could. With this attitude she went back home, and has been making an adequate adjustment ever since, that is, for about two years. Before leaving she said that probably she would let her imagination play at times in order to make existence endurable, but that she thought she could keep it from carrying her as far as it had done. She said that when things became unbearable she

probably would go back into another period of phantasy. She laughingly warned us to keep a bed ready for her.

The two cases given above represent an attempt to gain what reality had denied by imagining the realization of the forbidden thing. This is the direct wish-fulfilling phantasy and it takes multitudinous forms, depending upon the particular type of thing which the patient has failed to obtain. In mild forms, and if the individual recognizes what he is doing, such phantasies do no particular harm, and are probably indulged in more or less at certain times by all people.

In fact, the daydream, if properly used, may have a function in character development. Suppose that a boy attends a concert and hears a famous singer. He enjoys the music, he admires the singer himself, and notices that great applause and approbation are expressed by the audience. He begins to daydream, he sees himself, in the future, also a great musician receiving plaudits of vast audiences, and the picture becomes so real that he immediately gets considerable satisfaction from the contemplation and visual imaging of the future period when he will be a Caruso. This satisfaction that he receives through imagining himself what he is not, leads normally to an ambition to reach, in actuality, what is pictured in the imagination. The daydream thus becomes a spur or incentive to go through the necessary preparation to bring the picture to reality. His interest in music is nothing but the emotional satisfaction which he experiences every time he contemplates his possible future. Here we have a boy who imagines himself to be the equal of Caruso; he knows that in actuality he is not; and then takes the proper steps to become so. This attempt to adjust reality to the phantasy saves the day and keeps the boy normal. The harm comes when the boy fails to reach his goal, refuses to admit that he cannot reach quite so high a pinnacle as he wished, and then

imagines himself already there. *When imagination is a spur to activity it is a boon; when it is a substitute for reality it becomes a detriment.*

Dreams are absolutely essential for the achievement of great things. No one has ever accomplished any real thing without dreaming of doing it or some similar thing. Nevertheless the dream in such cases is constantly modified and revised by real experiences. It keeps one from taking things as a matter of course, it furnishes incentive for work. Success is finally achieved by a multitude of readjustments between the dream and reality. The one who constantly adjusts his ambition to reality and at the same time tries to pull reality up to his ambition finally achieves the feat of bringing the two nearer together. *An ambition that is immutable is fatal.*

Hence, while it may seem cowardly to retire to the world of phantasy in order to gain an imaginary victory over the enemy which constantly besets one, it is in some ways better to have an imaginary victory than to suffer continual defeat. One may look ahead and dream of the victories he is going to win and thus make up for a few temporary and present losses, he may look back over the victories he has won in order to compensate for present disappointments, or he may distort the present so as to make it look as though he were winning when he is actually losing; but any one of these methods is better than never to experience the satisfaction of any kind of victory. When one has to exhaust every ounce of the strength that he possesses in struggle and yet continually loses, his case is hopeless. He is the human tragedy. For this reason those who have the training of children should *see that they win some battles* in the moral, intellectual, and physical spheres even if one has to distort reality in order to make the victory apparent. By all means have real victory if that is possible, but if it is not, then make some sort of victory

possible, even if it has to be invented. Never permit a child to conduct a losing battle, retreating and losing ground every day. Utilize daydreaming.

But if one finds a child who is spending too much time daydreaming, it is well to realize what may eventually occur should the child go too far. It would not be well, even though the habit has its dangers, to tell the child bluntly to stop dreaming; nor would it do to paint too vividly the dangers that follow too persistent daydreaming. Remember that he has chosen this method in order to gain a victory over a situation which in reality defeated him. If you tell him that daydreaming is bad you cut off his only method of obtaining a victory, and he is defeated again. Find out what he is dreaming about, what it is that caused him to resort to daydreaming, learn what it is he wants to conquer, and then set about helping him to conquer in reality. When he makes a real victory he will turn from the daydreaming; if you take away his phantasies and furnish no objective victory you only drive him to some other method of compensating for defeat — and the new method he adopts may be worse than the daydreaming method. *After the ordinary child has tasted a real victory, the victory that comes from a phantasy will pale* and have no attraction for him. The same principle holds here as in all education — if you want a child to stop doing something, furnish him with something better to do.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Use imagination to stimulate ambition but see that the imagined reward is not substituted for the real reward.

2. A child who daydreams excessively is not satisfied with reality. Find out what is back of the daydream and you will be able to help the child adjust.

3. Make reality so satisfactory that the child will not want to forsake it for phantasy; stimulate his imagination to such an extent that he will

continually work forward toward a condition in reality better than the present.

4. Never permit the child to mistake phantasy for reality.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Why are anticipated pleasures keener than real pleasures?
2. What two attitudes may result from the comparison of anticipation with reality?
3. What characteristics distinguish those who can successfully forget and those who cannot?
4. To what extent may the blocking off of undesirable ideas be carried?
5. What is a complex?
6. Describe what happens when one daydreams.
7. Characterize daydreams.
8. Show how a daydream may develop into an hallucination.
9. How can daydreaming be used to aid character development?
10. Discuss the mutual interaction between dreams and reality.

CHAPTER VIII

Forgetting Reality — Advanced Forms of Phantasy

Phantasy is seen normally in the natural dream of a sleeper. Sleep is in itself a biological escape from reality. The child, being new to the contacts of the world, spends a great amount of time in retreating from it. As he becomes more and more acquainted with his environment he changes his attitude and wants to stay awake all the time; he wants to continue his play indefinitely. As he grows old and again becomes less and less able to cope with the environment, the periods of sleep become longer and longer. The mental life during sleep should likewise be in the nature of a retreat from the waking psychic life. Those stimuli which do impinge upon the sense organs are acted upon automatically and the mind remains free from the conflicts of waking life. Dreams are a compromise between the ideal sound sleep and waking life and are a mechanism whereby the sleeper continues to sleep although partially assailed by the psychic processes which occupy him while awake. For this reason, just as the waking phantasy reveals something of the nature of the mental struggles of an individual, so the dream shows the nature of the conflicts of the dreamer. Just as some individuals give themselves up readily to daydreams so they may give themselves up to sleeping dreams as a form of satisfaction. Here they can express in a more or less clear form the desires that cannot gain fulfillment in waking life. These desires may be unsocial and against the personal character of the dreamer. He repudi-

ates any conscious connection between the obvious intention of the dream and his intentions when awake, thus gaining some satisfaction without the implication of his character in the forbidden thought or deed.

The distinction between the dream that occurs in sleep and the other forms of phantasy is that the individual feels a certain amount of responsibility for the latter while the former can be absolutely repudiated. If a dream is remembered it is usually distorted so as to conform more or less with the personality of the dreamer. If the distortion is apparent so that the real meaning of the dream becomes clear then the individual tends to make the excuse that he is not accountable for what occurs during unconsciousness. At best, the memory of the dream is crude and distorted.

The dream, it has been found, is one of the best indicators that we possess of the unconscious mental processes of the dreamer. When a group of ideas (complex) is actively forgotten, in the manner we have described in a preceding chapter, it still operates and influences our conduct and thoughts. It does not come to the surface because we will not permit it to do so, but when the conscious control is removed, this recalcitrant group may indicate its presence by dream manifestations. Even in our sleep, however, we may not permit the bars to drop altogether, in which case the ideas which lie behind the dream appear only in a modified form, a form either more compatible with the waking personality of the dreamer, or so distorted that the real meaning cannot be readily recognized.

The underlying ideas that are abhorrent to the waking ideas of a person may come to the surface not only in ordinary dream life but may also appear when a person is under the influence of an anesthetic or is in certain psychotic states known as manias, mental diseases in which the sufferers

remove all inhibitions and do everything that impulse dictates.

To deny that we have repressed thoughts is ridiculous. Every social restriction means a repression. It is our nature to endeavor to forget and push the unpleasant into subconscious oblivion. *To acknowledge that we have some undesirable things in our subconscious need not cause remorse; it has taken mental strength to put them there.* We should divest ourselves of all notion of culpability in connection with them, consider them merely as psychological phenomena, and endeavor to understand the ways in which they may manifest themselves when they get beyond our control.

It may be well to pause a moment to indicate the absurdities that may arise from attempts to exonerate an individual when undesirable subconscious material comes to the surface. The following argument was propounded to the writer by a physician. He stated that he knew a certain gentleman who was raised in a family where no profanity was ever used. This gentleman himself had never used profane or indecent language in all his life; in fact, he was a model in the community. When placed under an anesthetic to undergo an operation this man began to swear and to use the most shameful language imaginable. Why, argues this physician, did this man swear thus? He had not learned it; never having heard such language in all his life, he certainly had never practiced it; therefore he must have inherited it. This is certainly a weird attempt to clear the man and his family of any shame that might be attached to his unconscious swearing.

There is a much more logical method of exoneration. It is a fact that the more an individual is repressed the more he has to boil over when the repressing influences are removed. Thus, a woman who has always been very religious and who

has been puritanic in all her conduct, when in a period of insane excitement very often becomes extremely profane and even obscene. A neurologist of long experience once told the writer that the worst case of obscenity and profanity he ever heard from a manic woman appeared in one who had gone into the cloister at the age of fourteen and had been there for fifteen years. So, a release in dreams, under anesthesia, or in mania, does not indicate poor character; it shows the reverse. A reprobate has nothing to repress; he does the evil things that come to his mind.

Sometimes repressed ideas are not content with mere manifestations in a distorted dream; they take actual hold of the individual and make him act during his sleep. The interesting point is that these acts may be very detailed and elaborate, but they are still of the same nature as the dream; that is, they have been disconnected from the waking life and when the sleeper awakens they are very apt to be entirely forgotten or remembered only very vaguely.

We will start first with a simple form of sleepwalking or somnambulism, of which the sleepwalking episode of Lady Macbeth is a classic example:

Gentlewoman. Lo you, here she comes! This is her very guise; and, upon my life, fast asleep! Observe her; stand close.

Doctor. How came she by that light?

Gentlewoman. Why, it stood by her; she has light by her continually; 't is her command.

Doctor. You see, her eyes are open.

Gentlewoman. Ay, but their sense is shut.

Doctor. What is it she does now? Look, how she rubs her hands.

Gentlewoman. It is an accustomed action with her, to seem thus washing her hands; I have known her continue in this a quarter of an hour.

Lady Macbeth. Yet here's a spot.

Doctor. Hark! she speaks; I will set down what comes from her, to satisfy my remembrance the more strongly.

Lady Macbeth. Out, damned spot! out, I say! — One, two; why, then 't is time to do 't. — Hell is murky! — Fie, my lord, fie! a soldier,

and afeard? What need we fear who know it, when none can call our power to account? — Yet who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him?

Doctor. Do you mark that?

Lady Macbeth. The Thane of Fife had a wife; where is she now? — What, will these hands ne'er be clean? — No more o' that, my lord, no more o' that; you mar all with this starting.

Doctor. Go to, go to; you have known what you should not.

Gentlewoman. She has spoke what she should not, I am sure of that; heaven knows what she has known.

Lady Macbeth. Here's the smell of the blood still; all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand. Oh, oh, oh!

Doctor. What a sigh is there! The heart is sorely charged.

Gentlewoman. I would not have such a heart in my bosom for the dignity of the whole body.

Doctor. Well, well, well, —

Gentlewoman. Pray God it be, sir.

Doctor. This disease is beyond my practice; yet I have known those which have walked in their sleep who have died holily in their beds.

Lady Macbeth. Wash your hands, put on your nightgown; look not so pale. — I tell you yet again, Banquo's buried; he cannot come out on's grave.

Doctor. Even so?

Lady Macbeth. To bed, to bed! there 's knocking at the gate; come, come, come, come, give me your hand. What's done cannot be undone. To bed, to bed, to bed!

Doctor. Will she go now to bed?

Gentlewoman. Directly.

In this classic picture one can see in Lady Macbeth a terrific attempt to submerge the memory of her horrible crime to keep it from coming to the foreground. The event is too powerful an influence, however, and she is forced in sleep to give reign to it and reënact the horrible murder scene.

A case illustrating a more complex form of this same somnambulistic state is given by Janet as follows:

A young woman, twenty-nine years old, intelligent, sensitive, hears one day abruptly some disastrous news. Her niece, who lives next door, has just died in dreadful circumstances. She had thrown herself out of the window in a fit of delirium. The young woman rushes out, and comes, unhappily, in time to see the body of the young girl lying in the street. Although very much moved, she remains to all appearances calm, helping to make everything ready for the funeral. She goes to the funeral in a very natural way. But from that time she grows more

and more gloomy, her health fails, and we may notice the beginning of the singular symptoms we are going to speak of. Nearly every day, at night and during the day, she enters into a strange state; she looks as if she were in a dream, she speaks softly with an absent person, she calls Pauline (the name of her lately deceased niece), and tells her that she admires her fate, her courage, that her death has been a beautiful one. She rises, goes to the windows and opens them, then shuts them again, tries them one after another, climbs on the window; and, if her friends did not stop her, she would, without any doubt, throw herself out of the window. She must be stopped, looked after incessantly, till she shakes herself, rubs her eyes, and resumes her ordinary business as if nothing had happened.[1]

In these two illustrations the individuals, in living over the submerged experience, lose entire contact with their surroundings; when they come out of the somnambulistic state, they conduct themselves absolutely as though they had never experienced the things which they enact with such gruesome detail in the dream state.

In other cases the disconnection from the surroundings is not so complete. The individual is driven by the submerged idea just as in the cases described, but he also reacts to the environment in which he finds himself. Hence you have a person doing things that on the surface appear to be natural, until some event discloses that they are entirely unnatural, and shows that the patient is in reality animated by a system of ideas that are hidden beneath the surface.

As an illustration of this, I can do no better than to quote a case described by Bernard Hart: [2]

On January 17th, 1887, the Rev. Ansel Bourne, an itinerant preacher, drew a considerable sum of money from a bank in Providence, and then entered a tram car. This was the last incident which he remembered. He did not return home that day, and nothing was heard of him for two months. . . . On the morning of March 14th, however, at Norristown, Pennsylvania, a man calling himself A. J. Brown, who had rented a small shop six weeks previously, stocked it with stationery, confectionery, fruit, and small articles, and carried on his quiet trade without

[1] Janet, Pierre — *Major Symptoms of Hysteria;* The Macmillan Company, 1913.
[2] Hart, Bernard — *The Psychology of Insanity;* Cambridge University Press, 1921.

seeming to anyone unnatural or eccentric, woke up in a fright and called in the people of the house to tell him where he was. He said that his name was Ansel Bourne, that he knew nothing of shopkeeping, and that the last thing he remembered — it seemed only yesterday — was drawing the money from the bank in Providence.

Now it will at once be apparent that in this case an extensive dissociation had occurred. The normal stream of consciousness was suddenly broken across and replaced by a series of altogether different mental processes. This new system, sufficiently complex in its structure to permit of the patient's leading an orderly existence, occupied the stage for two months, when it disappeared with equal abruptness and the former stream resumed its course. It will be clear that such a case differs from a somnambulism only in the more elaborate development of the system of ideas concerned.

This is a very simple case and one is left to guess why the dissociation occurred. The following case reported by Janet [1] gives the ideas behind the episode:

A certain man, thirty years old, was employed in a railway station in a town in the east of France. Although an active and clever fellow, he was a little eccentric, and had already led a somewhat adventurous life. In his youth he had had frequent fits of somnambulism, sometimes in the day, but mostly at night. . . . He was also very easily affected, predisposed to fixed ideas. One day, in the notary's office where he worked, he was slightly suspected, though not accused, of stealing a trifle. He fell ill, and was very distressed. Night and day he discussed that suspicion, and, although everybody tried to prove to him how trifling it was, he could not remain in that office. Moreover, he had a tendency toward exaggerated fears. He had left Lorraine after its annexation to Germany, and during many years he was haunted by the fear of the German police, whom he always believed to be running after him. . . . This young man also had an adventurous turn of mind. He started with the Crevaux mission on an expedition to South Africa, and was sent back to France on account of his health. Then he enlisted under the orders of DeBrazza, who was starting for Gabon. There, we must also notice, he was very much debilitated by diseases peculiar to hot climates, and continued long after his return to have fits of the ague. . . . On his return to France, at the age of twenty, he got a situation in a railway company, and was soon in easy circumstances. He married, and had a child he dearly loved. His wife was again pregnant, when the following incident took place. Although he led a quiet and rather happy life, he was uneasy in his mind, and gave himself up to intellectual labors too hard for a man who had no great acquirements. To his work in the railway office he added bookkeeping and, what is more, he drew

[1] JANET, PIERRE — *Major Symptoms of Hysteria*, 45–51; The Macmillan Company.

up a geographical account of Gabon from the notes he had taken, and this work gave him much trouble. He was made uneasy in his mind by family quarrels; his brother, who was jealous of him, had just quarrelled with him and had charged him with shameful and dishonest acts. The charge was groundless, and nobody around him troubled about it, but we know how easily upset, how susceptible he was in that quarter, and how he lost his head at the mere idea of a charge of that kind.

It is in these conditions that we come to the third of February, 1895. He was alone at Nancy, his wife having left him for a few days. He had just ended a chapter of his work on Gabon, and, to take a little rest, he went to a coffee-house where he was well known. During the afternoon, a part of which he spent with some friends at this coffee-house in playing billiards, he drank a cup of coffee, two glasses of beer, and a small glass of vermouth which the coffee-housekeeper wished him to taste. He told us himself all these circumstances, which he remembers quite well. He also knows that one of his neighbors came to the coffee-house and invited him to dinner, as he was alone at home. He accepted the invitation. So everything was as it should be, and he has a very exact memory of all that happened then. He left that coffee-house about five, ready to go and dine with his friend; but a few yards off, while crossing the Stanislas bridge over the railway line, just as he got to the middle (that also he perfectly remembers), he felt a violent pain in his head, as if he had been struck on the posterior part of his head. . . . Immediately after that something must have changed the mental state of our patient, as he has entirely lost the memory of all that happened afterwards on that Sunday, the third of February, 1895, and on the following days.

When he comes back to consciousness, or rather when he resumes the thread of his recollections, the circumstances are changed in an extravagant degree. His first recollection is the following: he was lying in a field, covered with snow, half dead, and amazed to find himself in that place; he got up painfully, found a road with a tramway line, walked along that line, and finally got, not without difficulty, to a town quite unknown to him, near a railway station. It was the South Station at Brussels. It was eleven o'clock in the evening, and the date he read in a newspaper was the twelfth of February. In short, he had felt a shock on the head at Nancy on the third of February, and awoke in the neighborhood of Brussels on the twelfth. All that had happened in the meantime, how he accomplished that singular journey, he does not in the least know.

He telegraphed to ask for assistance; he was taken care of and conveyed to Paris to the Saltpetrière, where we studied his case. . . . Here we contrived to know what happened during those nine days, and that we may now add to the story of his fugue.

On the Stanislas bridge, after he had felt the blow on the head, he felt himself overwhelmed with fear at the thought of the charges brought against him by his brother, so that he went home in great anxiety. A few slight occurrences, too long to tell, increased the feeling of guilt,

and in the evening, which he spent in wandering about the streets without going to his neighbor's for dinner, he constantly pondered on the way to escape those accusations and on the means of running away. He returned home, where he took some money, and went to sleep in an hotel in the suburbs instead of remaining quietly at home. He rose early, and avoiding the railway, went on foot through the fields to Champigneul. When he had arrived there he went to the railway station, where he was not known, and took a ticket for Pagny on the Moselle; from Pagny he walked to Longwy, still avoiding with the greatest care the persons who, he fancied, were running after him. And in fact he did avoid them very well, for his disappearance had been noticed, and he was sought after with great anxiety. At Longwy he took the train to Luxemburg, then to Arlon and to Brussels, still with the rooted idea of taking refuge in a foreign country under a false name, in order to escape pursuit. At Brussels, he first went to a good hotel and spent his days in seeking the means of earning a few pence. But he did not succeed, and his small means dwindled away. He took lodgings in a very shabby room, then in one of those asylums where poor people are lodged at night. There a good man had pity on him and gave him a letter of introduction to a charitable foundation. That letter played afterwards an important part, for he found it again in his pocket after waking up, and it enabled him, at the time of his recovery, to retrace the former events and to recollect what had happened. But on the day it was given to him he did not use it, so that he fell into the most terrible poverty. He was on the point of enlisting for the Dutch Indies; but, happily he was not accepted. Fancy that unhappy man in the midst of a crisis of somnambulism sailing for India. Exhausted with fatigue and want of food, he stretched himself on the snow in the fields with the vague idea that he was about to die.

Here something very extraordinary happened, something very interesting as a psychological fact. As he thought he was at the point of death, he could not help changing the bent of his thoughts, and in spite of himself, he thought that he would like to see his family before he died stretched out in the snow. You must notice that the thought of his family had never entered his mind during the last days. The appearance of this idea had an unexpected result. He immediately said to himself, "But, after all, why am I dying here, far from my family?" He got up; he was awake; you know what happened afterwards.

There have been several cases where the change was even more marked, where the whole personality was involved. These cases are known as double personality; or, where there are more than two separate groups of ideas alternating in control, multiple personality. One famous case of this type woke from a profound sleep with an absolute loss of every-

thing that she had known. She had no notion of either words or things; she had to learn everything anew. After she had made some progress in learning reading, writing, and arithmetic in this second state she suddenly reverted to her normal state, in which condition she was just as she had been before her change in personality. She knew all that she had learned from her childhood up to the time of the first change, but she totally forgot everything that had happened during the interval. Then after a period, she again experienced a change in which she returned to the strange state. She took up her studies where she had left them at the close of the first strange period. These alternations lasted over a period of four years until her death. In one state she remembered nothing of the other any more than two distinct persons remember their respective personalities. If she met a person in one state she did not know him in the other. She had to become acquainted with him in both. In the state which was a continuation of her youth she had a fine handwriting, while in the strange state she had a bad, awkward handwriting because she did not have sufficient time to perfect it. It was the same with everything.

We have progressed to this strange condition of double personality from the simple dream in order to show how one is simply a more highly developed form of the other. A dream is a very evanescent and simple expression of a simple idea that has been repressed and is not consciously recognized. The somnambulism shows a simple idea of the same nature as the dream idea taking hold of the dreamer to such an extent that he acts out the dream thought. This can be in a very simple form as in the case of Lady Macbeth or it can be rather complex. In the somnambulism the dreamer is asleep to everything about him and awake only to the dream. In the *fugue* (the insane tendency to wander

away from home) the dream takes hold of the dreamer and makes him act in accordance with its content, but he also responds to the ordinary situations of life. The fugue may involve a simple change in occupation with no change in the character of the individual or it may include a large part of the patient's personality — his moral habits, character, etc. Finally, the dream may involve the entire personality so that everything that has been learned, even from childhood, is excluded, and an entirely new personality has to be formed by a complete reëducation process, beginning with the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

These illustrations have shown what we mean by the successful blocking off of certain unsatisfactory ideational groups. The individual avoids conflict by imposing a neutral zone between the two antagonizing forces, across which territory there is no communication. If the person can stay on one side of this neutral area he gives the appearance of a coördinated, well integrated personality although he may have dropped out considerable portions of his experiences. If some adventitious circumstance causes him to cross the neutral zone he drops the ideational elements connected with the normal side and gives the picture of another personality. When he returns to the first side he has forgotten all that occurred in the journey that he has taken into the unconscious realm. Sometimes the connections between the two can be established and the individual later becomes integrated. In some cases the second existence has proven to be more desirable and the subject has learned to remain there for the longer portion of time; the returns to the first or supposed normal existence become more and more infrequent and shorter in duration.

The symptoms of sleepwalking, fugue, or double personality may appear to come suddenly in an individual who has

not shown signs of such a characteristic in his previous life, but the suddenness of the appearance is only superficial. The extreme condition which these states represent comes only as a final stage in a long process which begins very early in a child's life. It is the culmination of a tendency — the way in which the child has learned to resolve his mental battles. He begins very early the daydreaming type of reaction. His dreams are an adequate relief from reality and so he continues to use this method. Daydreaming is not adequate to relieve a severe mental battle, however, for the daydream involves a conscious connection between the dream and the conscious life. Hence, in cases of severe mental conflict, real sleepwalking episodes and other advanced forms of phantasy serve the purpose better.

There are several ways in which a person of the sort who goes into a state of somnambulism, fugue, or double personality may be recognized:

1. *These individuals have a strong tendency to dream.* They daydream when awake and have manifold dreams when asleep. They are what we describe as visionary; they rarely meet reality as such but live in the world of phantasy.

2. *They are usually very suggestible.* They are so open to suggestion that they are the constant butt of practical jokes for their comrades. One bright young man taking a medical course was constantly teased in this manner. He was told that his ankles squeaked — he believed it! He was then told that they needed grease and that he should soak his feet in kerosene as this would furnish the necessary lubrication — instructions which he proceeded to follow to the letter!

3. *They have the appearance of being absent-minded.* They seem absent-minded, but upon investigation it develops that these periods when they are lost to their environment are periods of reverie.

4. *They are inclined to be superstitious.* They prefer the mysterious explanation to the simple. Nothing fascinates them so much as stories of strange influences. They like to believe that in their dreams they are in communication with some outside power and to feel that their conduct is a direct result of the force of this power on their lives. Thus they take signs of their abnormal condition and explain them as indications that they are especially selected as instruments of a supernatural agency.

The phantasy type of disturbance described in this chapter is simply the end result when a person of visionary, gullible, suggestible, absent-minded type has a conflict which he is unable to resolve. Of course, if a person has these characteristics it by no means follows that he will eventually become dissociated. These characteristics, however, become exaggerated when one cannot win a mental struggle or adapt one's self to failure; hence, when the teacher sees an exaggeration of any of these, she is fairly safe in inferring that the child is having some sort of mental difficulty. With a little help and consideration she can often help the child over the hard place.

Another important characteristic that runs through dissociation in all degrees from dreams to double personality is the fact that the dissociated material has not been successfully excluded. If it had been, the individual would have completely forgotten it, and it would never have manifested itself in behavior. He may have excluded it as far as his conscious life goes, but it is still a part of him. Furthermore, it has had such a strong tendency to return to the surface that it has finally succeeded. Now, why has this submerged material remained in such force as to break through finally and disrupt more or less the placid, conscious life of the

patient? It is because the person wishes it to come back even though he has excluded it. He has excluded the ideas because they went against some standard he has established for himself. Since they conflicted with this standard he has been ashamed of them and has not admitted them into his conscious life. But behind all this, he has always secretly thought that the standard was artificial, and has regretted that he had to exclude the things he has been forced to drive out. The land of daydreams is the land of blissful delights that, because of opposing objective circumstances, one cannot enjoy in reality; of things that one would like to enjoy but cannot, because they are contrary to one's training. Lady Macbeth's somnambulism portrayed a desire to wash out all her feeling of guilt for the murder of Banquo — a highly desirable state of affairs for her, but impossible of attainment. Janet's case of somnambulism portrays the coming to the surface of the desire to commit suicide and thus end a series of conflicts in a young girl who found reality too difficult. The Reverend Ansel Bourne wanted to change his occupation. He could not do so because it interfered with his religion, so he went to sleep and changed it. Janet's case of fugue found it too hard to buckle down to the realities of life, its suspicions, hard work, and temptations; so he fled from trouble in his sleep, a thing he found it impossible to do in reality. You see, it matters not whether the feeling of guilt is based on facts or not; if the feeling cannot be excluded it operates just the same. Finally, in the case of the double personality, the individual found all the events connected with the normal personality in opposition to the desired thing, and so she changed completely from the normal. *If the repressed ideas were not imbued with an emotional tone seeming more desirable than that connected with the waking existence there would never be any of these phenomena.* One tends toward dissociation in

proportion to the pleasurable feeling of the tone connected with the dissociated material.

The educational importance of this is very far-reaching. We think we have trained a child to be good when we have made him act as we wish. We pay little or no attention to the ideas he has in regard to the things we forbid him to do. We prevent the doing of a thing that the child thinks would cause him pleasure, and there is always a feeling of loss connected with it. The child says, "No, I would never do that; it is bad!" But he adds to himself, "But wouldn't it be great fun if I only could?" *The child may become convinced that the most desirable things in life are the bad things.* He represses the wish to do them — the thought of doing them — but he still does want to do them; and so they come out in dreams or in sleepwalking or in some other way.

This condition often starts from a false philosophy on the part of the teacher which reflects itself in her teaching. She believes that she has sacrificed much happiness by being good and tries to teach the children to be as self-sacrificing as she is — to give up their happiness in return for virtue. She may not say this in so many words but her attitude reflects it. A sacrifice involves the giving up of something desirable, and when one talks of or intimates sacrifice in connection with being good one implies the giving up of something.

The teacher needs to get into her own philosophy the fact that the thing which brings the most happiness is the moral thing, and then train her children by that same method. Let them learn by simple facts that *the immoral brings suffering automatically* and the children will have little trouble in suppressing immoral desires. They are giving up nothing of comparative value in any such suppression; they are gaining. *Make them see that they gain by being good.*

A child steals. The teacher catches him. She takes away

the stolen article and punishes him. She thinks that she has made him see that it does not pay to be dishonest. Instead she has made him see that it does not pay to get caught, and he thinks how much fun he could have had with the stolen article if he had only been clever enough not to be caught. The training has not made him honest; it has made him afraid of being detected in dishonesty. He dreams of the time when he can steal all he wants and never be caught. He has repressed his dishonesty, claims outwardly that he will steal no more, and may not steal again; but he longs for a situation where he could steal. Honesty has become a part of his behavior but not a part of his subconscious personality. This whole method of teaching is wrong. He is taught to be dishonest because the law says he must be honest. He should be taught that honesty is a social necessity; it is necessary for his own happiness. Any breach on his part should bring him loss without any intervention of external law. To be sure, the teacher may manipulate things so that he is punished automatically but she must keep herself in the background. In other words the child must learn that if he steals everyone has an equal right to steal, and if everyone steals he, too, will lose his treasures. He should be honest because he does not want people to steal from him. This understanding will make him genuinely honest, for he will have no sneaking desire to steal. *Convince him that he is the greatest loser when he disobeys the moral law and he will be moral.* If this is not done he may be forced to obey the law but he will not be kept from wanting to break it. *If a child is taught from the beginning that morality is a social, coöperative scheme organized for the benefit of each individual, he will refrain from being immoral, not because someone has demanded it, nor because he is afraid of being caught, but because he does not desire to be immoral.* He should be

really taught that he is the loser if he is immoral. He will then not possess any hidden notion that the thing is fundamentally pleasant. He has learned that it is not.

We have placed, heretofore, too much emphasis on the outward conduct and not enough on the hidden life of children. We force certain things with such crude methods that the child is faced with a dilemma that he has no way to resolve. He adopts some queer solution and then, when he becomes an adult, we look on in pity because he has become "insane," or at least "peculiar." The dream life of children points directly to their real mental conflicts. When a child walks in his sleep he needs someone to search for the reason why he is repressed. Sometimes children "outgrow" this habit. It is because in some way they become adjusted to the conflict which lies behind the sleepwalking. We should not, however, leave this adjustment to chance. It may be that the child will not adjust and will later develop a more serious form of dissociation. A little timely help from an understanding teacher may prevent such a tragedy.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Do not chide a child if he has a dream of questionable character. Try to use it to find out the hidden desires of the child so that he can be taught to get better control of himself.

2. Children have natural insight into the meaning of dreams if they are taught to be frank. The thing which the dream elements immediately suggest to the child point to this meaning. Do not try to interpret it for him; let him do it.

3. The dreamer is the one who has conformed in external behavior and not conformed in his desires. Teach him to reorganize his desires and to harmonize the two.

4. The suggestible, absent-minded, superstitious, and daydreaming child should be treated as a dreamer although he may not be able to remember distinct dreams.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What are dreams?
2. Discuss dreams as complex indicators.
3. What is one's moral responsibility in relation to submerged complexes?
4. Describe what takes place during a somnambulism.
5. How is a somnambulism different from a fugue?
6. Describe a double personality.
7. Show how dreams, somnambulisms, fugues, and double personality are related.
8. How can the individual who tends toward dissociation be characterized?
9. What characteristic of repressed material stimulates dissociation?
10. How can a tendency toward dissociation be changed by education?

CHAPTER IX

Ignoring Reality

In contrast with the individuals who, as described in the two preceding chapters, shun unpleasant experience by blocking off unpleasant sections of memory and taking refuge in forms of phantasy, there are others of the second class enumerated under methods of repression of ideas, who rebel against even dreaming undesirable things and so impose a barrier against this form of compromise with reality. Though these individuals are harassed by the same antisocial or antimoral impulses, they refuse to make even the slightest concession. They must then devote energy to the fighting of dream thoughts and become the worst type of case with which to deal. They will not confess, even to themselves, that they have undesirable thoughts. Their dreams are all forgotten. They become absolutely absorbed in their own thoughts, not in the sense that they are gaining satisfaction from any phantasy, but in the fighting of thoughts that they do not want to dwell upon. They are continual losers; and, after giving up more and more energy in this battle, in which they are constantly losing ground, they become absolute introverts; that is, they turn in upon themselves so that all outside stimuli are opposed.

This reaction is quite different from the types just described under sleepwalking and double personality. In the latter cases the individual escapes the difficulty temporarily by dropping that part of his existence which cannot be harmonized with the thoughts that insist upon coming up in

spite of his attempt to hold them down. He cannot drop out his main personality indefinitely and so must sooner or later revert to his former waking self, when he again forgets the troublesome part and lives as he has lived before. There is an alternation between the two systems of ideas and no logical connection between them. People of the type that we are about to describe cannot thus make their memory serve their purpose. They cannot live one life for a time, then forget all about that and live another, then return to the first again, and so on indefinitely. Their attitude is: "If I fight and get whipped then I will not fight; if whenever I speak I say some improper thing, I will not speak; if I have objectionable thoughts about my friends, I will stay away from my friends and then I will not be tempted to have improper thoughts about them; the best way to avoid a battle is to flee from the enemy; I cannot whip him but I can run faster than he can."

These persons learn that influences from the environment are likely to suggest to them the undesirable things that they are so zealously fighting; so, they block out all suggestions and, to defend themselves, they refuse to respond to their environment. To abandon themselves to reverie would open wide the door to the forbidden ideas. Remember, this is just what the dissociated person does — for the time being he gives away absolutely to the complex and then comes back with the complex again locked safely away. But the type which we are now considering we may call the shattered type. A person of this type cannot abandon himself to the complex because it is connected at too many points with his normal existence. If you ask such a person to daydream he will consent but will carefully control the daydreams that come to him. For instance, we asked a woman of this type, in the course of an experiment, to abandon herself to reverie,

simply to permit her mind to wander wherever it would, without restraint. She said in suprise, "You certainly do not mean that I am to let anything come in that would?" "Yes," we responded, "that is what we mean." In horror she exclaimed: "I never would do that; some evil thought might come and I could never let my mind dwell on such a thought." She finally consented to try to daydream but said that she would be very careful to let only the desirable things come in as a part of such dreams. Hence, the main characteristic of these people is the fact that *they shut out all external suggestions and carefully criticise everything, until they are extremely negativistic;* they cannot be hypnotised for they are too negativistic to give themselves up to coöperation.

When this process of withdrawal is carried to an abnormal stage a shattering of personality rather than a dissociation is shown. This shattering is known as *schizophrenia.* The forces of a schizophrenic can never be unified because he is surrounded on all sides by "enemies." Now in this group of individuals, whose enemies attack them from all sides instead of merging into a complex, there are those who take the same procedure that we described in the preceding group; that is, they try to solve their conflicts by ignoring reality, they try to forget things that are unpleasant, and as most of their lives are connected with the unpleasant, they try to forget all. They cannot react to the present in a normal way for that would simply add to the store of memories that they would have to fight and to forget in the future. They become shut-in, aloof, contrary, and even mute. They have retired to another world, avoiding all contact as far as possible with things as they are. This reaction is also a progressive affair and may show itself as a simple retiring tendency coupled with a slight negativism, or it may go to the extreme stage where the individual will not talk, will not

eat, can even be prodded with a pin or given other painful stimuli without yielding the slightest response.

Since negativism often begins at the age of adolescence, the teacher should be on the lookout for first signs. Early discovery is especially important in this disorder on account of the fact that in later stages the patient may become so inaccessible that no one can do anything for him.

In the mildest type of schizophrenia known as *simple dementia*, the onset is very hard to discern. The symptoms may appear gradually in a boy or girl who has been getting on satisfactorily in school. At first there is seen a lack of interest in things; the child ceases to go out and associates less and less with the other children. There comes over him a general listless, apparently lazy and tired-out attitude toward life. Lessons are neglected and the child begins to fail in his studies. Often he develops irritability and as a result may have transitory periods of excitement. Sometimes peculiarities of conduct develop and strange mannerisms, such as muscular tensions or peculiar movements of various sorts.

Even if this form does not progress into more severe forms, the adult that is produced finds it very difficult to adapt himself to life. It is quite likely that a great many criminals, hoboes, prostitutes, pseudo-geniuses, cranks, and eccentrics of various types are cases of permanent and non-progressive simple dementia præcox.

If taken in time these cases can often be guided over the difficult period. For example, an adolescent boy who had been doing good work suddenly developed the following peculiarities. He continually kept a glove on his right hand, in school and out of school. He wore his overcoat in the schoolroom regardless of the temperature of the room. The teacher told him several times to take off his glove and over-

coat. He was always very obedient but in a few minutes would have them back on. In addition he would always select a seat away from the rest of the boys and would not sit anywhere near the girls if he could possibly avoid it. This boy had been perfectly normal to all appearances before these peculiarities developed.

The principal of the school discovered this case and, by securing the boy's confidence, learned the following facts: The boy's father had gotten into a rather serious scrape which had brought some unpleasant notoriety. This the boy felt very keenly since he was very proud of his father. At this same time a girl baby had been born into his home, a thing that the boy did not like at all. He felt he had lost his prestige in the home, the baby having usurped his place; and he felt that he was an outcast with other boys on account of his father. The glove on his hand was to keep himself in constant preparation for a fight; he would not fight with a bare fist. The overcoat was to cover his poor clothes. As a matter of fact, his clothes were not poor; he was very well dressed. He had simply attached his feeling of shame on his clothes and the covering of these with his overcoat represented covering all the shameful things that had come into his life. He felt that all the boys were his enemies and so he would not sit near them and he hated all girls because the baby was a girl. The principal very tactfully drew all this from the boy and then discussed the whole situation with him with equal tact; and in a few days the boy was adjusted and as normal as ever. What would have happened had he not been thus treated no one can tell. He made his first move away from reality, was detected, and brought back at once. The writer believes that by the work of this principal, which consumed only about two hours' time, this boy was saved from a serious maladjustment.

A more severe form of this type of abnormality is known as *hebephrenic dementia præcox*, or the dementia præcox of the adolescent mind. (*Hebephrenic* is derived from *hebe* which means *puberty* and from *phren* which means *mind*.)

A simple illustration of this type of dementia præcox is given in the following case: A boy, twenty-one years of age, a year before being admitted to a hospital, had been attending school and carrying extra studies to make up for work he had missed. His family observed that he had grown seclusive and preferred to remain by himself. A few weeks after they first noticed this he was found crying and seemed apprehensive, but would make no explanation. He worried about his grades in school. Then he began to lose interest in his school work. Finally, he refused to attend school and attempted to burn his books. He refused to see anyone, and would hide in different parts of the house when relatives or other visitors called. Though he was formerly neat and clean, he had begun to grow careless and slouchy.

At the hospital he appeared as a large flabby boy of twenty-one who was beginning to put on much weight. He had the soft, rounded features with the lack of facial lines of expression that are commonly to be found in the inactive "goody-goody" type. He showed little or no spirit — no interest in anything. His ward work was languid and desultory. He would often sit indefinitely in a fixed posture staring into space mumbling incoherently to himself. Over his emotionless features would occasionally creep the semblance of a hollow smile often accompanied by a silly giggle when there was nothing in the external situation to warrant such a reaction. He showed a pouting reluctance to talk, questions brought forth meaningless answers or were evaded in the most absurd manner. If pressed for a coherent response he would refuse to respond at all. He appeared to exist in a

separate world and no amount of effort could elicit any description of his thought processes.

The mental background of this group of symptoms is clearly a sheer retreat from reality. The patient avoids any issue by a complete failure to respond to persons or situations. He resolves his difficulty by ignoring it, and for fear some unexpected difficulty might arise he avoids even the most innocent situations. He does nothing; therefore he makes no mistakes.

Sometimes the person who tends to turn in on himself rebels against this tendency and as a result shows alternating periods of active resistance interspersed with the periods of surrender. This form of dementia præcox is known as *catatonia* (derived from two Greek words, *kata* meaning *down*, and *tonos* meaning *tension*). The disease is one in which there is first great tension with a succeeding change from that tension to surrender.

This alternating character of the conflict is well shown in the following case: A certain patient, a young man, had always lived an exemplary life and it is quite certain that his whole conflict was an inner mental one and did not represent any remorse for sins actually committed. His trouble had been precipitated by the invitation of a boy friend to partake in a homosexually perverse act. The severest fights are against tendencies and not against actual breaches of one's standards.

In periods of depression this patient would give expression to the following remarks, repeated over and over again for hours at a time: "I ought not to be here. I am the filthiest person in the world. I'm not fit to associate with anyone. Someone ought to kill me. I would do it myself if I could get out. I am all covered with filth; I can smell it. Don't touch me. Oh, don't touch me!" At other times he

would show evidence of trying to down any such thoughts. He would say: "It is not — not — not true. It is — is — is — is not true — not true — not true — not true. I would not do that. I would not do that. I tell you, it's God's truth, it is not so. Listen to me truly — I swear it is not true." He would be told that it was well known that it was not true, that no one believed anything bad about him; but he would pay no attention, simply keep on with his affirmations that it was not true. He would wax eloquent in these denials, pounding his fists and stamping around like an orator.

Then again he would try to drown the thoughts as to his guilt by a flood of other things. He would play the piano and sing for hours, composing the music and words as he played, all in a vain attempt to forget. At other times he would talk a flood of nonsense in the same effort to kill off the ever-present thoughts. He would talk incoherently as follows: "I am going to marry in June and build a bungalow. It's going to have heavy upholstering. It is going to be a mammoth bungalow. I am going to build a large bungalow on wire wheels. A large bungalow with wire wheels and mahogany top and many, many — mahogany top with wire wheels — Ford coupe with wire wheels. I am going to build a bungalow with, and buy a Ford coupe with white wire wheels and two dozen eggs and many other things too. This bungalow will not be of solid granite but of stone works. In the year 1492 Columbus discovered America and in the year 77 the same thing happened to me. It was on the fourth of February and they say the thing will have white wire wheels and a solid granite top. Bungalow will have wire wheels and a solid granite top. With white wire wheels, twenty-four dozen and ninety-two thousand, and seventy-four dozen coupes. It will not be of granite but of twenty-four

dozen eggs. In the year 1492 Columbus discovered America." This is merely a small extract of the type of talk the patient would continue for whole days, as long as he was awake, pacing around the whole time, occupying all his energy in his attempt to flood out the real things that were troubling him.

Performances of a similar nature may be witnessed in school work. An adolescent boy or girl is consumed with a feverish drive to be doing something all the time. It makes no difference what, he must be on the go. The tasks he takes up have the same appearance of incoherence as has the conversation of this boy. He will start this, that, and the other thing with great zeal, only to drop each as quickly to take up something else. He probably does not go so far as to develop the sort of speech disturbance that this boy did, but his feverish activity expresses a milder form of the same thing. After a period of this the child may adjust himself and get along without this tremendous zeal for all sorts of trifles. If, on the other hand, such a youth should have a so-called "nervous breakdown" everyone blames it on the fact that he worked too hard. To be sure he worked hard, but this in itself was a symptom of maladjustment; and, had an understanding person secured the confidence of the child, an adjustment might have been made.

Still another type of introvertive reaction to a conflict is found in what is known as *paranoid dementia præcox*. Paranoia is derived from two Greek words: *para* meaning *beside*, and *nous* meaning *mind*. As this derivation indicates, the characteristic feature of this disease is the belief by the patient that he is influenced by certain forces which are developed outside (or beside) his own mind. In paranoid dementia præcox the patient makes no consistent effort to have the delusions sound real, he is not troubled by any attempt at consistency. If cornered he will simply ignore the logic of the

examiner and be satisfied with his own lack of insight. One patient showed all the varied ideas of influence indicated in the following account, but made no effort to weave a consistent story of the different elements. If any attempt was made to force him to defend his inconsistencies he would give a shrug of indifference.

He stated that he carried on "mental transmissions of thought" with his sister and father who were in town but who were not allowed to see him on account of the persecutory methods of the people in charge of the hospital. They were mistreating him and he was losing weight rapidly because he was not getting proper food and exercise. He talked at great length of Masonry. He claimed that he had taken thirty-two degrees in one week and two-thirds of a day. He had much trouble with the thirty-second degree, the initiation for it had ended on Sunday afternoon by agreement on the part of the "opposing forces" to let him through. They had intended to let him be initiated all the rest of his life but they finally gave up. However, when the agreement had been reached, there was trouble in getting the initiation certificate signed since the doctors held it up. The initiation took place in the hospital by means of the "mental transmission of thought." He could tell that he had been initiated throughout the night because of the worn-out feeling he had in the morning. Besides, an application had now been started to give him the thirty-third degree. He did not want this degree, however, since it carried with it too much responsibility. He said that the Pope was a thirty-third degree Mason and died because of the worries connected with it. There is only one that can be a thirty-third degree Mason and he had always been from Europe. Never has there been one from America to get this degree but they have now selected him as the first exception. He was sure that if he consented to take

this degree the "opposing forces" would torment him and initiate him for the rest of his life. Thus he rambled on.

Here you have a person who has mentally arranged to be satisfied with himself. He has resolved his battle by retiring to the side lines and placing all the responsibility on the outside forces, who are fighting for and against him. He knows of this struggle by the "transmission of thought" which is simply an invention to make the explanation of his conflict possible and to exclude himself from any part of it.

If, as these cases tend to show, the final turning in on one's self is the sequel of a long process of such reactions, *it should be possible for the teacher to detect children who have this tendency in its incipient stages.* That this method of meeting difficulties is quite common is shown by the fact that nearly one-third of the cases of insanity are of the introvertive type; hence almost every teacher has had to deal with pupils of this type at some time or other. If introverts are to avoid serious mental abnormalities help must come in the early stages, for in later stages they are hopeless, because they are inaccessible. You cannot help a person who will not respond at all, one from whom you can get no emotional reaction of any sort.

The teacher or parent is very easily misled when she gets a shut-in individual. Since these persons pay little attention to the environment they of course have a negative type of virtue — they never do anything noticeably wrong, never get into trouble. Their apathy or lack of attention, if it is serious enough to retard them in school work, is attributed to intellectual defect; but a teacher who has her eyes trained to the problem can easily distinguish the difference, apparent mostly in the emotional tone. A feeble-minded person will usually make an adequate emotional reaction — he is sure to do so if the occasion is not intellectually above him. The shut-in person will not make an adequate emotional reaction.

In order to give early attention to cases of this type the following characterization of the introvertive type of personality may be of help:

1. *The introvert is likely to be of the goody-goody type.* As a child he will keep his clothes clean longer than the other children. He does not have to be punished; he never does anything wrong. In school he is a model as far as conduct goes.

2. *He will seldom fight.* He shows none of what boys call "pep." He will stand an inordinate amount of abuse with no retaliation.

3. *He is of a seclusive disposition.* He prefers to play and work alone. He can be found by himself when the rest are all heartily entering into some community activity.

4. *He takes little or no interest in the ordinary affairs of life.* He would sooner read than go to a circus, even at the age when a circus is most likely to make its appeal.

5. *He is likely to be careless about his person.* This is not the carelessness of the live boy who delights in getting mussed up. The introvert has not initiative enough to get dirty and likewise has not enough spirit to take any interest in making himself neat.

6. *He is very likely to have queer emotional reactions.* On occasions when most of the children will laugh he will show no inclination to do so; and, on the other hand, will show emotional reactions when there is nothing in the situation to produce them. In other words, his emotions are reactions to his own thoughts in which he is buried, and not to the environment.

As the cases we have cited show, the immediate occasion for this type of upset is some mental conflict; and, as this often occurs at the age of adolescence, it is very apt to be a conflict

related to adolescent adjustment. If the teacher pays no attention, the child will persist in his reaction of silence and will get worse and worse — only an accidental circumstance is likely to break up the process. The wide-awake teacher, on the other hand, when she has discovered such a child can either take steps to gain his confidence or get another suitable person to do so, and thus ascertain the cause of the brooding. Very often the difficulty can be remedied by straightforward information or by changing the attitude of the child toward the nature of his conflict.

Do not let any child flee from the conflicts of life. Teach him the joys of victory. Give him some simple, but for him, difficult situation and arrange affairs so that he wins; then congratulate him on the victory. Follow this with another until you have changed the child from a coward to a hero. *The "turning-in" is the hopeless surrender of the defeated* and you cannot correct such an attitude simply by telling the child why he was a coward. In addition to pointing out to him why he lost before, *you must make sure that the next time he wins.* The battle that you set should not be in the field in which he lost before. Start in another field where he is stronger and then, after you have given him self-confidence, it will be possible gradually to shift his battles to the field where he had before demonstrated his weakness. This may seem like a difficult program but it will not prove to be so, once it is started intelligently; and the rewards that a teacher will get from a successful solution of such a problem will far outshine those she might get from years of ordinary teaching.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Do not be deceived into forgetting the quiet, good child. He may be the one who is most in need of your considerate attention.

2. You cannot treat an introvert by trying to force him into reality. This simply crystallizes the introvertive process already started. Analyze the nature of the conflict which has caused the flight and he may come back from it.

3. The introvert requires early treatment. Do not overlook little peculiarities that indicate this tendency.

4. If you cannot get the child's confidence simply and naturally, try to find some one who can. It is very difficult to get an introvert to confide in anybody and if you try to force a confidence you simply drive him farther and farther into himself. Do not inflate your ego with the notion that you can get every child's confidence yourself.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Describe the nature of the introvert's attitude toward his conflict.
2. Show how negativism develops.
3. To what extreme may an introvert progress?
4. Give the characteristics of simple dementia præcox.
5. Describe hebephrenic dementia præcox.
6. Describe catatonic dementia præcox.
7. Describe paranoid dementia præcox.
8. Why is the early detection of dementia præcox important?
9. Characterize the introvertive personality.
10. What should be the nature of the treatment of a person of the introvertive type?

CHAPTER X

Retreat from Reality — Regression to Infantile Fixations

The conflicts of life are of an ever changing character and the adjustments made to these conflicts likewise vary as one grows in years. What constitutes a satisfactory compromise arrangement for one period has to be discarded and a substitute found in the next. Each temporary adjustment nevertheless leaves its mark upon the individual, a trace which may be largely covered by subsequent developments but which, nevertheless, leaves its imprint on one's character. *The viewpoint an adult has upon life's situations is the composite result of all this previous adjusting.* A philosophy of life is not a stable thing or a thing which can be created arbitrarily. It results from a vast number of viewpoints and is being modified by each new situation the individual faces.

Now it often happens that we find a person who has a warped viewpoint. This perverted view of things cannot be the effect of the present situation, for a large number of other individuals have experienced exactly the same present conditions and yet they do not share the peculiar views of our patient; the patient's viewpoint must have been created by earlier situations which he has experienced. For instance, in a city where the writer was visiting he was told of a certain woman who was constantly meddling in public affairs. She took it upon herself to inspect the public schools and criticise the management. The superintendent at one time

dismissed the school twenty minutes early so as to permit the pupils to attend a ball game. She visited all the school directors and demanded that they discharge him for this remissness in his duty. She complained that the pupils were not taught to use proper manners on the street; they were noisy and often rude. The city was trying to raise a bond issue in order to build a new school building. She visited the school and counted the pupils and fought the bond issue on the ground that there were not enough children attending the school to warrant such an issue. She likewise criticised the mayor of the city in all his actions. She played the part of town flea, tormenting everyone in public office. It turned out that some years previously her husband had deserted her for another woman and since that time she had been bitterly fighting every man she could reach. One could not evaluate her conduct correctly without keeping in mind her motive, which was retaliation for her bitter experience with her husband.

Just as we need to keep the motive for viewpoints clear in cases like this, we likewise need to do so in cases not quite so pronounced if we are going to understand correctly human nature. *Even a trivial thing may change one's viewpoint.* A boy was once offered a piece of orange. He refused it, saying that he did not like oranges. This is unusual, for most boys like oranges. Repeated offerings of the fruit brought out the further statement that he did not like oranges because they tasted like castor oil. This boy had been fed castor oil mixed with orange juice. While the orange juice may have mitigated the bad flavor of the oil, the oil in turn caused the boy to detest the orange juice. Without knowledge of this association of ideas the observer would have found this dislike for oranges incomprehensible; with it, the mechanism was perfectly clear. Hence, when a child has a peculiar view or a

peculiar taste of any kind we should recognize that there is some reason for it originating in some past experience and it is our business to find that reason.

These early experiences affect our viewpoint in two diverse ways. They may modify our attitude directly; or, if distasteful, will cause us to go to the opposite extreme to distort reality so that we overemphasize the antithesis of the viewpoint that is really the operating force. For example, a child may have had some experiences when very young which made him tend toward cruelty. He may continue all his life to show this tendency openly and may delight in subtle ways of inflicting pain or suffering upon animals or men. Or, being taught that cruelty is undesirable, he may be so convinced of the truth of his lesson that he may go to the opposite extreme and may have the appearance of being very kind-hearted. The sight of the least suffering will throw him into a perfect torment of sympathetic suffering, and the idea of his inflicting pain is alien and abhorrent to him. Because of this dual possibility an original tendency to inflict pain may manifest itself either directly in cruelty manifestations or in excessive kind-heartedness. An adequate understanding of adult human behavior is absolutely impossible unless one keeps this dual tendency present in mind when searching for possible causes. The expression of a tendency by an overemphasis of its opposite is called compensation. We will treat this more fully in Chapter XI, but call attention to it here so as to show clearly its relation to direct expression.

The direct expression of infantile fixations or idea groups that have been allowed to make deep impressions is permitted only in a few instances without direct social disapproval. We countenance an act in a child as "cunning" which a few years later we frown upon with horror. For instance, we

encourage the child to exhibit his body; even showing him off thus to visitors and bragging about his proportions. Or, we take him to a photographer to have his nude picture taken, to be placed in the family album for his edification when he attains manhood. Having encouraged him thus to exhibit himself we take active steps to teach him how indecent such conduct is. The exhibitionistic tendency is still there, however much we may teach him modesty, but it cannot express itself in the crude form. Instead, he exhibits himself in other ways. He demonstrates his physical prowess, his skill as an athlete, as a maker of speeches in Sunday School, later as an actor or orator. Or a girl exhibits herself in her clothes, in her coiffure, in her adornments. These later manifestations are substitutes for the original tendency and will prove satisfactory under ordinary conditions. When some unusual circumstance transpires to make the substitute inadequate, the tendency is to revert to a previous satisfactory manifestation. We may think it does one no good to understand that the motive behind the activities of an orator or actor is exhibitionism, and under ordinary conditions this may be true; but, when the orator or the actor begins to fail in his performances and needs to turn his endeavors into something in which he can succeed, we may be of much more help in directing him if we understand that he is dominated by this exhibitionistic complex.

We will not advise such a person to take up work which gives no opportunity for exhibitionism. We marvel when some girl with no musical talent spends years and money trying to become a public performer. We wonder why she is so blind as to persist in something for which she is obviously not fitted. Instead of wondering we should be suggesting to her some substitute which lies within her capabilities and which nevertheless would gratify the craving behind the desire

to become a musician. Now, *being dominated by a childish tendency* such as exhibitionism is not disgraceful or shameful as long as it is an influence toward something social, and advances the individual. It *only becomes of harm when it fails to find a satisfactory social outlet* and the individual has to resort to a more primitive form of expression.

A teacher in school is very likely to be confronted with crude forms of this particular tendency. Such disorders are occurring in schools constantly and teachers are often at a loss to know how to deal with them. Recently the case was brought to the attention of the writer of a boy who was guilty of exhibitionism. The teacher, upon learning this, went into a perfect storm of rage and actually made herself conspicuous in her tirade against the boy. Her fury attracted more attention to the matter than the act of the boy, and did more to advertise it than anything else she could have done. Instead of helping the situation she made it vastly worse. In the first place the teacher needed to get a sane attitude toward the situation herself. Secondly, at the same time that she was blocking such a manifestation by punishment, she should have remembered that the real reason for the offense was the lack of an adequate means of display in a social way. This means that she should have provided a social outlet for the tendency, and a teacher certainly has opportunity to do this. What did she do in raising such a furor? When the boy found no adequate social manner of exhibiting himself, he reverted to the infantile method and immediately attracted the attention of the whole school, which means that he had succeeded in his desire. The punishment that the teacher administered and the turmoil that she raised were the reward he sought, and encouraged him to offend again. Scandal sheet notoriety is no punishment for exhibitionism; it is a reward for it. To deal properly with such a case the

motivation must be clearly recognized, the reason why it has reverted to the unsocial infantile form must be discovered, and an adequate expression in suitable form offered as a substitute for the childish reaction.

The situations to which the individual is likely to return in his imagination when a difficulty arises are those that have made the strongest impression upon him as a child at the time they were experienced, and these are usually connected with the love life of the child. The first individual one loves is himself, and he usually receives early a strong impression of his own importance which he never wholly loses. The next fixation (strongly organized attachment) of his life is for his mother, then possibly for some other member of his family, then for some individual who resembles himself (usually of the same sex), and finally for one of the opposite sex. The love attachments of any person influence very radically his whole outlook upon life and so cannot be overlooked in any analysis of human behavior; not only do they follow this law of return to previous satisfactory fixations when some unsatisfactory situation occurs later in life, but very often unusual conduct that outwardly has no connection with one's love life is the direct result of fixations in this field. We all recognize this in a general way. When a boy who has been slovenly suddenly becomes neat in his appearance, we say that there is a girl in the case. We need only to carry our vision a little farther in order properly to appreciate what is happening in many cases of strange conduct.

The boy is weaned away from self love because he finds love for his mother more to his advantage. He later learns that love for boy companions is in some ways more satisfactory than love for his mother, and finally that love for a girl is more satisfactory than love for a boy. Now, in any

stage along this line of progress, if he meets an insurmountable obstacle he is likely to return to the previous stage. Likewise, the advance from one step to another carries traces of the previous situation along with it, so that he is likely to choose a girl who resembles his mother or himself in certain characteristics which are important to him. The progress is not smooth and easy in every case. One receives certain tendencies to advance, then a tendency to go back, and so progress comes only by an interrupted series of advances. Mothers and teachers often fail to appreciate what is going on during these stages and because of their ignorance make a normal development harder for the boy or girl.

Take for instance the period when the boy is being weaned away from his mother. The mother dislikes this because she wants him dependent upon her; she gets satisfaction from his dependence. How many mothers understand that the normal boy has to get away from her "apron strings" in order to be normal? The mother bemoans to her friends the fact that her boy no longer enjoys sitting on her lap and receiving her caresses. She should be glad that he does not. When the boy who is in this stage meets some difficulty and comes running back to his mother, she receives him with open arms and is delighted that her "baby" has returned for fondling. After such an episode the boy is ashamed that he has failed and in a subconscious way hates his mother for making his battle harder. In order to steel himself against a future break he has to develop a hostile attitude. The mother, by her influence during the period when the boy is at the height of his attachment, has untold opportunity to determine the future course of his life, and the things he can be taught during this period will affect him permanently; but, eventually he needs to get away from her and to depend upon himself, and, when he comes to the stage for being

independent, any return to the mother-fixation period is a sign of weakness. The comrade who teases and taunts a boy for being "tied to his mother's apron strings" is often much more of a true friend to him at the transition period than is the mother who encourages him to remain a baby. This does not mean that the boy need become estranged from his mother, but that he must work toward the place where he does not rely upon her care and comfort.

Another advantage that comes from an understanding of this tendency to be governed by the past rather than to forge into the future is that it reveals to us that *the past is usually distorted as we look back upon it.* The unsatisfied married man only remembers that when unmarried he was free and that his earnings were his own and forgets all the unsatisfied longings he had as a single man. The girl who awakens to some of the vices of the world, instead of using such knowledge to fortify herself for the future, vainly wishes for the period when she was innocent of all such knowledge. The young man who is jilted by a girl scorns all women except his mother, into whose sheltering arms he runs, if not actually, at least in desire. They all run back in an endeavor to find things as they recall them in the distant past.

This tendency to see only the glowing part of the past has been very aptly called by Dr. Frederick Knight " 'The Old Oaken Bucket' delusion." When we were children we hated to get water with the old well-sweep. It hurt our backs; we skinned our knuckles; we almost froze in the winter. Heavy! The thing weighed a ton even when it was empty! We simply loathed the moss that added to its weight. We just ached to get away from the farm and to see life. The future distant scene was the thing that looked pleasant to us then. Now, after we have seen the rough part of life, the golden age lies in the past, because we have distorted

the whole thing and see only the pleasant parts. Even the old heavy bucket that we hated so much looks pleasant in contrast to the hardships of the present. So, tired of life, and seeing nothing but trouble ahead, we go back to the "good old days" and sing:

> How dear to my heart are the scenes of my childhood,
> When fond recollection presents them to view!
> The orchard, the meadow, the deep-tangled wildwood,
> And ev'ry loved spot which my infancy knew!
> The wide-spreading pond, and the mill that stood by it,
> The bridge and the rock where the cataract fell,
> The cot of my father, the dairy-house nigh it,
> And e'en the rude bucket that hung in the well—
>
> The old oaken bucket, the iron-bound bucket,
> The moss-covered bucket that hung in the well.

The following case extract illustrates this. A young girl was in love and was very anxious to marry. The young man she loved was not ready to marry. He wanted to run around and have what he considered a good time for a while before he settled down. This led the girl to fear the consequences of marriage with such a care-free youth and, aided by the disapproval of her fiancé expressed by her relatives and friends, she tried to decide that she would stay single. Yet she could not bear the thought of remaining single indefinitely. She was in a strange dilemma; she wanted to marry and she was afraid to do so. This led to the wish that she did not have any of the tendencies toward love life. If she were only a child again she would not want to marry and the trouble would be at an end. So she tried again to be a young innocent girl who did not know anything of love. She took the same attitude toward the whole affair that she would have taken when she was a pre-adolescent girl, and she seemed to get satisfaction from this for a time. When this satisfaction did not continue, her physiological maturity eventually forcing her to recognize

that she was a woman, she attempted to commit suicide. After gaining insight into what she was doing, the girl adjusted her attitude, took a forward view instead of wishing to revert to a childish stage, and has made a satisfactory adjustment ever since.

The form of distortion of reality which avoids the present by reverting to childhood ideas is called *regression.* It is the process of turning back upon one's developmental career and attempting to gain satisfaction in the same manner that one did in previous years. What makes this method extremely unsatisfactory is that when we attempt to reproduce past situations we find an exact duplication impossible. We are no longer children and we cannot possibly gain satisfaction from childish things. Hence, once started on the path of regression there is no ending. We go back a slight way, and finding this situation not so satisfactory as our memory pictured it, we go back still farther. The same fate awaits us here and we are forced to go back farther and farther until we have made a vain attempt to divest ourselves of all the acquirements of life. Such a pursuit is futile and one ought to learn early in life, with such force that it will never be forgotten, that *the golden view of the past is an illusion.* The past looks delightful from a distance but it does not bear close inspection.

The reason for regression is that one has tendencies that cannot seem to find a social outlet. One feels that he must get expression for things in himself that he does not quite understand. He is thwarted in his attempts. Oh, that he could again be the individual he was when he did not have such tendencies! Such a wish is the father to the regression process. The way to prevent it is to *see that some social outlet is secured* for the tendencies the individual is forced to recognize that he possesses.

One cannot lay down any general principle here, for the tendencies are the result not only of instinctive drives but of these drives plus all the modifications produced by the training and habits that the child has acquired through his entire life. Hence, what will be an outlet for one will not be for another. For instance, a boy early in his life, through some experience or experiences for which he is not accountable, might have connected some instinctive tendency with cruelty so that as an adult he has the impulse to be cruel. This is very distasteful to him. Cruelty is socially condemned and he does not want to be unsocial, so what shall he do? Such a tendency, if not properly redirected may lead to the most horrible results; if given expression in some reasonable form it may be a social good. In a survey made recently we encountered a young, handsome boy who manifested a deep interest in animal experiments. It developed that he had witnessed in high school an experiment upon an anesthetized animal. This made such an impression upon him that he wanted to go to college and undertake animal experimentation. It further developed that he cared nothing about other types of experimentation, he must have operative experiments. This boy had a cruel tendency which had been forbidden outlet, and such experimentation seemed to him to be a fine thing. His desire for animal experimentation was an unconscious expression of the desire to turn his tendency into a social channel. It is quite likely that this boy can, properly guided, take up some profession which will furnish an adequate social outlet for his tendency.

Thus we might take any tendency fostered in childhood and show how adult life expresses those tendencies that are dominant in any particular person. It often happens that the profession that one chooses is not an adequate outlet for some tendency that has become dominant. In such a case the

outlet often comes in the form of a hobby or a side interest. Thus, a man with a mechanical interest goes into a profession which denies him any possibility of mechanical work; he develops as a hobby a small workshop in the basement of his home or gets an automobile and delights in tinkering with it, taking it apart and reassembling it for the sheer joy of playing with it; or, if the interest is something which cannot be satisfied in this way, he may take a few weeks off and spend the time gratifying the interest. The hunting and camping trips of business and professional men are often of this nature.

All of these things are recognized and are regarded as normal; yet, when an abnormal occurrence with exactly the same basis of conduct takes place, people are horrified (or pretend that they are) and marvel that such things could be done by one who appears to have better sense. For example, we hear of some prominent man's being caught in the act of peeping through the windows of a girl's dressing room. The man who does this may be no different from the rest of us except that he has not been able to redirect into a social channel his desire to peep. A scientist who boasts about his scientific curiosity perhaps first exerted that curiosity in undesirable acts. The scientist and the peeper both failed to have their infantile curiosity satisfied in infancy; the scientist expresses this ungratified curiosity in peeping into the mysteries of science, but the man who was arrested has found no adequate substitute and so gets into difficulty.

The silliest tendency that the child manifests may, if restrained unduly or improperly, persist and have a permanent and possibly disrupting influence upon the child's later life. *Some outlets of tendencies must be checked, but along with the check should be given adequate substitute outlets.* A tendency which is merely blocked and which is not permitted a substitute gratification is thereby aggravated.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Convince the child that the future holds better things in store than the past. This can be done by setting certain objectives not too far in the future and directing keen anticipation toward them. After one such goal has been reached, immediately set another. Do not rest at one goal too long or there will come a tendency to fix it too strongly or to revert to some previous one.

2. Give the child a chance to express his childhood tendencies in an adult form which is socially approved. The child will not want to regress if he is given an adequate outlet. Regression is the result of too severe repression with no substitute outlet.

3. Develop the child's appreciation of life. As life becomes more complex the pleasures increase along with the difficulties. Teach him to know that the added pleasures complexity affords, more than compensate for its increasing difficulties. Then he will not long for the simple life.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. How does one form his philosophy of life?
2. In what sense are present reactions the result of previous responses?
3. In what two general ways do early experiences affect our attitude?
4. What are some socially approved forms of exhibitionism?
5. Show how punishment may be taken by the child as a reward and so fail in its purpose.
6. How can we innocently make it hard for a child to keep moving forward?
7. Show how difficulties in the present distort our vision of the past.
8. Discuss regression as an adjustment to present difficulties.
9. How can infantile tendencies be put to socially acceptable uses?
10. How can an understanding of basic complexes aid in directing a child into a suitable vocation?

CHAPTER XI

Distorting Reality — Fighting the Admission of Inferiority

The only manner in which we can estimate the qualities that we possess is by comparing our possession with those of others. We are tall or short in relation to the height of those about us. A man may be a great man in a small town but sink to insignificance in a large city. A boy may be an angel compared with some of the rough boys in the neighborhood, but a young imp compared with his well-behaved sister. A child may have hands that are clean in contrast with those of one who has been tinkering with an automobile, but that may appear very dirty when superimposed upon white dining linen. It does not take a child long to learn this law of contrast. He is constantly told to be as good as his father was when he was a boy; to be as clean as his less active sister; to be as obedient to his mother as Johnny, who lives next door, is to his mother, etc. It is not long until he begins to apply the principle in the opposite direction — to excuse his defects by pointing out similar or worse ones in others. When chided for slang or profanity, he will answer, "I heard Daddy say it; so why can't I?" When told by his mother not to touch things on the store counter, he will reply, "Well, you touched them, didn't you?" Thus we direct attention from ourselves to others in order to escape criticism. A similar change of emphasis leads to one of the cleverest means of distorting reality to deceive others or ourselves — overemphasizing the opposite of the things that we are trying to conceal. This is, as we

have suggested in Chapter X, the alternative to direct modification as the effect of early experiences on the individual's viewpoint. If this overemphasis is done properly it works very successfully, but it takes great skill to give exactly the right emphasis to the facts we present; and *error in emphasis is the telltale feature*. Probably the commonest use of such excuses is to cover a *feeling of inferiority*. It comes as a great blow when one realizes he is inferior to some other person in some characteristic.

No one individual is superior in all traits although he may excel in some. The balance between excellence and imperfection usually keeps one in an adequately humble attitude and yet gives him enough self-esteem to enable him to compete with his fellows. Children understand this balance pretty well, for if one of their number seems to excel in any one thing the rest are very likely to pick some flaw in his make-up and hold it up to him in order to humble him.

The feeling of inferiority is impressed more strongly than is usual on some individuals because of the fact that they have some marked defect which makes them the butt of the ridicule of their comrades. In such a case the inferiority is a fact, it must be faced as such, and the individual must make the best of it. In other cases, the inferiority is not so apparent to others as it is to the person who feels it. Whether the person is actually inferior, or only believes himself to be, the results are the same — the actual facts are not so important as the attitude of the person.

Now, the best attitude for the individual to take upon the discovery of his defects is to avoid reliance on excuses, to *admit the defect, and to try to correct it as far as possible.* It does no good to try to cover a real defect. If it is not possible to correct it, one should be willing to face it and admit its existence; if it can be corrected, it should be faced

as a first step towards correction. It may, of course, take readjustment of one's ego to admit imperfection frankly, and a conflict may arise from the necessary readjustment; one may fight because he does not want to face unpleasant facts. It would be erring on the safe side, however, to admit a defect that did not exist rather than to refuse to admit one that did; that is, to one's self. One makes a much more abnormal reaction in trying to cover up some peculiarity than he ever would in admitting a real or unreal defect and trying to improve himself in a rational manner.

Reaction to the knowledge or the suspicion that one is not perfect may take any of the forms that any other conflict may take. One may refuse to acknowledge that the information is true; he may blind himself to the facts as they exist and persuade himself that he does not have the defect in question. This method of distorting reality may work if the defect is not very marked, but if it is constantly thrown up at the individual, such a subterfuge will not work and he must react in a different way.

A favorite type of response is to become angry with the informant and return the compliment by finding flaws in him. This contrast of one's defects with the flaws in others may help to raise one's ego. If I can prove that all my comrades are ugly, my sense of my own lack of beauty is not so poignant. If another has more money than I have and I can show that he got it through dishonest means, I have compensated for my poverty by a show of virtue. When this species of consolation is carried to an extreme degree it produces a hard, crabbed, unsympathetic individual who will have no mercy on another, but who will gloat over the misfortunes of others, because thus he makes himself appear better by comparison.

The tendency to inflate one's self-esteem by jeering at the failures of others starts very early in childhood; in the

schoolroom you may see some children tittering at the discomfiture of others. Many an ignorant teacher aggravates this attitude and thinks that a good way to punish an offender is to get the rest to ridicule him. It may serve her immediate purpose, but she is setting up an inferiority feeling in the ridiculed child that may later prove serious; and she is doing the children who laugh and titter an injury in that she is teaching them a wrong method of gratifying their own pride.

No matter how much of a failure one may have made of himself, he can always look around and find others who have done as badly or a little worse. The greater the number of those who have done as badly or worse, the greater the self-elation that results from the survey. Thus, we may find a bachelor who has moments when he feels that he has lost a great deal in life by not uniting with one of the beautiful women he sees all about him. He may then begin to console himself by noting the large number of other males in the same condition. This, however, is not very satisfactory; for the number of such bachelors is much less than the number of married men. If, on the other hand, he can make himself believe that the married men have been unwise in marrying, and that the wise and happy men are single, he has increased his satisfaction with himself many fold. Consequently, it is very common to find the single man, or the married man who has made a bad bargain, poking fun at those who have put their necks into the noose of marriage. The following quotation is a sample of this type of defense wit:

> The most effective lure that a woman can hold out to a man is the lure of what he fatuously conceives to be her beauty. This so-called beauty, of course, is almost always a pure illusion. The female body, even at its best, is very defective in form; it has harsh curves and very clumsily distributed masses; compared to it the average milk-jug, or even cuspidor, is a thing of intelligent and gratifying design. . . . But

this lack of genuine beauty in women lays on them no practical disadvantage in the primary business of their sex, for its effects are more than overborne by the emotional suggestibility, the herculean capacity for illusion, the almost total absence of critical sense of men. Men . . . show no talent whatever for differentiating between the artificial and the real. A film of face powder, skillfully applied, is as satisfying to them as an epidermis of damask. The hair of a dead Chinaman, artfully dressed and dyed, gives them as much delight as the authentic tresses of Venus. A false hip intrigues them as effectively as the soundest one of living fascia. A pretty frock fetches them quite as surely as lovely legs, shoulders, hands, or eyes. . . . The tendency of the first-rate man to remain a bachelor is very strong . . . and in different parts of the world various expedients have been resorted to, to overcome this reluctance to marriage among the better sort of men. . . . But the best of them nevertheless lean to celibacy, and plans for overcoming their habits are frequently proposed and discussed. One such plan involves a heavy tax on bachelors. The defect lies in the fact that the average bachelor, for obvious reasons, is relatively well to do, and would pay the tax rather than marry. Moreover, the payment of it would help to salve his conscience, which is now often made restive, I believe, by a maudlin feeling that he is shirking his duty to the race, and so he would be confirmed and supported in his determination to avoid the altar. Still further, he would escape the social odium which now attaches to his celibacy, for whatever a man pays for is regarded as his rights. As things stand, that odium is of definite potency, and undoubtedly has its influence upon a certain number of men in the lower ranks of bachelors. They stand, so to speak, in the twilight zone of bachelorhood, with one leg furtively over the altar rail; it needs only an extra pull to bring them to the sacrifice. But if they could compound for their immunity by a cash indemnity it is highly probable that they would take on new resolution, and in the end they would convert what remained of their present disrepute into a source of egoistic satisfaction, as is done, indeed, by a great many bachelors even today. These last immoralists are privy to the elements which enter into that disrepute; the ire of women whose devices they have resisted, and the envy of men who have succumbed.[1]

This is an admirable defense for an antisocial attitude. The writer and a few other courageous men are apparently the only ones who have survived the wiles of females to seduce them! It is only one step further to an actual belief that the females are in active pursuit, such as is shown in the case that follows:

[1] MENCKEN, H. L. — *In Defense of Women;* Alfred A. Knopf, 1922.

A young unmarried preacher — a High Church Episcopalian — several years ago gave promise of being a very successful man, but now, through a number of peculiar characteristics and contradictory forms of behavior, seems about to ruin his career. When he first accepted the position in which he is serving, his impression upon his congregation was striking — most of his people thought that he was remarkably able. That impression has been entirely changed within one short year because of his abnormal attitude in relation to sex. His sermons show that he is personally and vitally concerned in the message that he is delivering. He gets very much in earnest, pounds the pulpit, shouts, goes almost into a frenzy in the storms against sin, which to him is a synonym for any form of sex conduct. Practically all his sermons are of this type. He is calm and almost uninteresting when he deals temporarily with any purely theological theme; but is intense when raging against dancing, short skirts, flapperism, bobbed hair, rouge, and vice, which to him all belong in the same class. So violent is he in his antagonism to any form of courtship that he forbids the young boys and girls of his parish to walk home from church together. If any young girl disobeys this injunction she is barred from being confirmed. It must be a choice with her whether she will give up all social relations with men or give up confirmation. In order further to protect innocent girls from male wiles, he himself often escorts them home from service, giving them each a kiss upon parting. In spite of the fact that he raves against immodest dress, his room is decorated with pictures — some of which are advertising posters — showing girls clad in scanty apparel.

He seemingly has a Herculean task to ward off the advances of all the spinsters in the parish. He will come home, for instance, and almost in a frenzy begin to denounce a certain

woman who has had the temerity to invite him to some function. He will throw up his arms and almost scream in his denunciation of her wiles in thus trying to seduce him. Finally, he will become calm and accept the invitation. However, despite his acceptance, he will act in a boorish and churlish manner to the imagined seducer. His hostess, on these occasions, naturally thinks him rude and resents his needless rebuffs. He thus makes himself hateful in order to repel advances he merely imagines. He seems to take delight in defaming the characters of innocent girls in his congregation. He selects some especially attractive girl and talks about her in the most degrading manner to others of his "fold" without grounds for so doing. In one such instance, this scandalmongering came to the ears of the girl's relatives and he was confronted with it by the girl herself. He had absolutely nothing to reply, but since that time, has seemed afraid of this girl and avoids her as if in terror. He carries a pistol to protect himself from imagined pursuers. There is probably mental justification for this for he actually has injured many persons. As a matter of fact, however, no one has made any threat to do him bodily harm. When he meets those whom he has defamed he becomes unctuous, flattering, and fawning in a sickening fashion. Although he seems to think all his parishioners are vile he takes little apparent interest in their spiritual uplift or salvation, in spite of his eloquence against vice; and when called at night to visit the bedside of a dying parishioner, he has been known to refuse to go and to show no concern upon learning of the neglected individual's death.

All this is obviously a defense mechanism. The minister is trying to live a celibate life. When some female appeals to him as a possible mate, he is horrified by the thought; but, instead of blaming himself for the thought, he condemns

the manners, dress, or character of the innocent woman. He defames her because he would like to do the things that he accuses her of doing. Moreover, because of his secret wish to gratify his sex desires, the young minister shows yet another form of avoiding the confession of a defect — in his sermons, to cover what he considers a weakness, he shows the opposite characteristic in an extreme degree, denouncing all things connected with sex in an unnaturally vehement fashion. He is making use of compensation.

It is often said that the best reformer is the one who has once succumbed to or been tempted severely by the temptations that he is fighting for others. The best temperance lecturer is a converted drunkard. One way by which the ex-drunkard can stay reformed is to throw all his energy into opposition; of course he is likely thus to become an extremist. The young girl who feels tempted to indiscretion may become a prude; she overbalances herself in resisting temptation. The young man with a temptation to gamble perhaps raves against cards, horse-racing, and baseball; he cannot view any of the means of gambling with equanimity because they are all temptations and must be resisted with vehemence. *The good reformer must as a rule be one who would be peculiarly susceptible to the vice or condition he is opposing* else he cannot muster enough fervor to carry across his propaganda.

Such methods of avoiding the admission of weakness involve strain upon the one who practices them continuously, for he is harassed by a continual fear lest observers see through his ruse. He becomes extremely self-critical and it may be easily observed that his conduct is forced and unnatural. Thus, the man who is forcing cordiality to cover his shyness never gives one the same impression as does one who is naturally cordial. One remarks upon the hearty response he receives at the hand of the dissimulator, but feels that such

a reception lacks in candor — as though he were being secretly ridiculed. The hearty greeting of the politician often illustrates this. One can find no flaw in his blandishments except that they are not genuine. One cannot explain just why he thinks they are unreal but he makes his judgment upon trivial errors in emphasis; the heartiness is just a little overdone.

The teacher can often detect such overemphasis in very young children and she should recognize it at once as a compensation for the opposite of the thing overemphasized. The girl who runs at the sight of boys needs help in adjusting herself; for she is overdoing in an attempt to fight an unconscious tendency to associate with them. She needs to be taught to take a natural attitude. The boy who is meticulously and absurdly over-honest may be one who needs help in being honest. His exaggerated honesty may mean that he is having a struggle against temptations to dishonesty. The boy who is exceptionally rough needs assistance in his effort to become a real "man"; he is perhaps fighting a tendency to cowardice.

A good illustration of consoling one's self for inferiority in one particular by emphasizing excellence in another trait is the following case: After one of the writer's classes in which he had examined a patient, one of the members of the class came up and asked for an interview. He began with the statement that the class "was getting on his nerves." He said that when the patient was being shown he was seized with an ungovernable fear that he might break down as the patient had done. He could not produce a single symptom that the patient had shown. His history was entirely dissimilar and there was no apparent or logical reason why he should have had such a fear; but the fear was so real that he absented himself from the class on the next occasion, not

being able to force himself to face a similar spell of fear. On prolonged analysis it developed that when a little boy this young man had been inferior physically. Other boys soon learned this, as well as that he was afraid of them, and would attack him in order to see him run and cry. The fear of his comrades became so keen that he would go to school before the rest of the boys were on the way and would stay to help the teacher until they were all well toward home. He would sneak off into the woods or side streets if he saw any of them coming, and developed the fear of them to such an extent that his life was a nightmare. More or less consciously he decided that he was going to put his comrades to shame by outshining them mentally. He had to admit his physical inferiority (at least he had not bravery or courage enough to try to demonstrate otherwise) so he decided to make up for it by being the leader of his classes. It happened that with all his study he was never quite able to head the class, although he came near the top. He had gone through high school and partly through college, when he entered the class in abnormal psychology. He studied so hard that he overdid, and because of neglect of his body would have periods when he felt worn out and inefficient. This simply aggravated his condition of fear, for he was banking on his mental achievements, and at any time when he felt mentally fatigued he was filled with a fear that he would fail in his pet ambition. When he saw the patient in the classroom, this fear ripened; he was filled with terror at the thought that he might have a mental breakdown. Such a catastrophe would mean the capitulation of his last stronghold and he would have to admit defeat. His effort to console himself for defect in one line by superiority in another had never been quite successful because he was unable to excel in the field he had chosen.

The fact that this fear of inferiority lay behind his ambition shunted off his energy and made him less able to shine in the mental sphere. Far from being an incentive to good work, this fear acted as a hindrance, and he described periods when he was filled with a nameless fear, the origin of which he was not aware of before the analysis. Several dreams and incidents show how this fear expressed itself. For example, after taking an examination he came running back half an hour later bringing his paper and saying that he had walked out of the room and forgotten to leave it. Such forgetfulness was more than accidental, for all the students placed their papers on a table as they left the room and he could not have failed to see it. It developed that the fear of not being the highest in the class actuated him; this fear made him forget to leave it and so he walked off with it in his hand.

On another occasion, he dreamed that he was back in grammar school attending a basket ball game played by two teams of girls. In the second half, one of the girls was injured; and, as there was no girl substitute, a boy was induced to put on the girl's uniform to finish the game. As this boy came out, the audience hissed and ridiculed him. Free association showed that this boy stood for himself and portrayed his desire to be physically strong by subjecting the other boy in his dream to the ridicule of being a "sissy."

The teacher in the elementary school where this trouble started should have detected the conflict of this boy. She did not do so. She was probably so flattered by the devotion of the boy and by the fact that he was a good student that she was not able to see any reason for his conduct but her own charming personality and her superior ability as a teacher. When a boy is so devoted to the teacher that he comes early and stays late and refuses to mix with the rest of the children the teacher should recognize that there is something

wrong with the boy and try to rectify the trouble. There is nothing necessarily unwholesome in his desire to stay and help his teacher. It is in his avoidance of other children that the evidence of danger lies. If this boy whose career has just been described had been properly treated in his early school life, he would have been saved years of the most poignant misery.

One might think that to counterbalance an inferiority by superiority in another trait is a good adjustment. In some cases it may be, but there are numerous cases where this type of adjustment is not successful. One may reason with an individual that he would do well to ignore his defect and emphasize something in which he can shine, but the inferiority is there just the same and causes more or less anxiety to the possessor. The attempt to substitute mental superiority for physical inferiority, though it might seem the substitution of a more valuable thing for a less valuable, is not always viewed that way by the individual concerned. We can illustrate this by a very interesting case where mental superiority gave no balm for physical weakness:

A boy of eleven, with an intelligence quotient of 148, was brought into a clinic by his mother with the report that he had tantrums when he was crossed, and would yell and scream till he got his own way. He staged these only at home and never at school, and never except in the presence of his mother, usually with the two other brothers present. He was physically weak, while his brother two years his junior was stronger. This brother could outrun him and beat him in all physical tests. The patient was very anxious to develop physically, and wanted to join the Junior Scouts and enter the junior Young Men's Christian Association physical gymnasium class so as to enable himself to excel physically. He was extremely jealous of the two other boys, although he

outdid them mentally. The mental superiority meant nothing to him in comparison with his physical inferiority. He was a timid person — could not stand pain and was afraid of the dark. When, in his physical examination, a blood sample was taken, he yelled as a three year old child might have done. He used his tantrums to get the attention of his mother and thus he "put it over on" the other two boys.

He often dreamed about animals — wild ones, of which he was very much afraid. He dreamed that a burglar came into the house and killed the father, mother, and two brothers with a gun, and that he alone escaped. He dreamed that they had a servant who was bad and pierced him through the heart with a knife. These dreams express the dual nature of his conflict; the fear of physical disruption, with the wish to be superior.

All this was a definite reaction against a feeling of inferiority in connection with his physical make-up. His parents have tried their best to convince him that his mental superiority is much more to be desired than physical superiority, but their arguments do not impress him. He is jealous of the physical prowess of his brothers, and his whole ambition is to outshine them and get the whole of his mother's attention.

This case shows very clearly that boys and girls form their own standards of superiority and that these standards cannot be changed by any simple arguments on the part of elders. We may think that mental superiority is much more to be desired than physical strength; but, if a boy has set physical prowess as his *summum bonum* and is convinced that all the other boys surpass him physically, our arguments do not appeal to him. Mental excellence is too much in contrast and tends too much to make him feel even more inferior in the physical prowess he so much desires. If we are going to remedy a situation of this sort we need to help him to

excel in something more in line with his ambition than mental acumen would be.

Each method of escaping the acknowledgment of an inferiority, therefore, only reminds the child of the defect he is trying to cover. The defect is a hobgoblin which he feels that he must bury. He soon realizes the futility of attempting to kill this defect by burying it under devices that distort reality, and the more he tries to cover it the greater his fear grows that some day it may come out and cause his discomfiture. To help him get to the bottom of his difficulty is of more value than to help him in the useless task of shoveling different species of consolation on the grave in which he strives to bury his hobgoblin.

The teacher should be on the lookout for the factors of battles with inferiority in conduct disorders. It is not well to conclude too quickly that a boy who does some bad act is a rascal; he may be having a terrific mental battle and need help more than he needs punishment. For example, a boy was brought to a clinic because he was dishonest, stole things, and was constantly getting into fights. He was a neat, active, clean-cut boy of fifteen, possibly a little small for his age. He was well behaved in the ward and showed no conduct disorders. He was friendly and coöperative, except that he showed some impatience under questioning and was loth at first to give his story. His father had deserted his mother before he was born. The patient knew nothing of the father — had never seen him. His only thought of his father was in relation to financial things. It would have been easier and more pleasant for him and his mother if she had not been obliged to work for a living. This attitude was related to the patient's difficulties, for he complained that he could not have things that other children had and therefore they would not play with him. He missed comradeship and had been

very lonely. The beginning of his stealing was to give others candy so that they would associate with him. He had a marked complex related to the matter of development. He called himself a runt in comparison with others of his age, and he thought that he was undeveloped as to his genitals. When it was explained to him that the development of these organs was coincident with puberty and that this change might take place anywhere between the ages of fourteen and eighteen and be perfectly normal he was quick to say, "I am glad to learn that." His fear of "not being a man" was also shown in his fear of being a sissy. When a smaller boy, he had attended the school in which his mother was teaching in the eighth grade. When he got old enough to be in his mother's room, she sent him to another school. Still the children there considered him "a teacher's pet" and would not play with him. He said, "They called me sissy — and I guess I was one." It was at this time that he began his stealing in order to be tough, and to buy things for the other children so as to get their admiration and companionship. Then he began quarreling and fighting in an attempt to be "manly." He could not get along with a girl cousin because she wanted him to attain a certain refinement of dress and manners which he thought would only make him more of a "sissy." As there were no boys in his neighborhood of his own age or older, he was forced to play with younger boys — another indignity. He did not skate, because his ankles turned and the others made fun of him. He liked baseball but could not fit in well because he did not own the necessary equipment. Another thing that grated on him was that he did not like to fight. He tried to fight but did not like it, and so was even more firmly convinced that he was a "sissy." So he was impressed from every quarter with the fact that he lacked what he considered manly qualities.

Although an attempt was made to show the boy's mother that he needed an opportunity to express himself and prove himself to be self-reliant so as to get over this feeling of inferiority, she lacked the proper insight to carry out such a program, as is shown by a letter received from her shortly after he left the hospital. She says, "On the way home he said to me, 'Mother, though there were no boys at the hospital for me to associate with I liked it there and would be willing to stay there indefinitely. I liked it better than playing with the boys around home!' I said, 'You know why that was. You were thrown with real people in Iowa City, people of intellect and ambition; while in ——— the only boys you try to associate with are rude, coarse, and ignorant. How many times I have told you it is better to go alone, even if for a long time, until the worth-while people find you to be worth-while, than to choose for constant companions those of low and coarse minds.'" How absurd to advise a boy, whose task is to become self-reliant, to sit around by himself waiting for some worth-while people to find him!

Later this mother wrote concerning an incident as follows: "He said, 'I'm going to get a pongee shirt to-day.' When I told him it would be too expensive, he said, 'Well, I don't care, I gotta have one.' 'Better say you wish to have one or even that you are going to have one, but not such an extravagant statement as that you've got to have one.' 'I tell you I gotta have one, the other boys have them and I gotta too.'" Here instead of dealing with the fundamental thing — his need to be on an equal footing with the other boys — she began to quibble about his making too intense statements.

That the boy had much good in him is shown by an incident concerning an operation on his mother some time after he left the hospital. He wanted to draw some of his own money from

the bank to help pay for the operation. When his mother objected he went and got some work, which he could do without interfering with his school work, to earn some money to help her. In this connection his mother wrote, "Of course he cannot help pay for the operation, but he can help to buy his clothes and pay for repairs on his bicycle." So, when he developed a scheme to help overcome his inferiority, she killed it. She made him spend his hard-earned money on such prosaic things as clothes and bicycle repairs, when she could just as well have bought the clothes and let him use the money toward the operation. She wouldn't let him do the big things; she forced him to the little ones.

This boy had tried his best to be tough in order to overcome his tendency to be a "sissy." The mother, teachers, and school authorities could see only the misconduct features and failed to ascertain why he did these things. He was being bad, although it was contrary to his disposition to act as he did. What greater reward could he receive than to be punished for his misconduct, since this punishment was public evidence that he was not a "sissy"? Surely some other outlet for manly qualities could be found for such a boy than stealing and being tough. To have had the privilege of paying for his mother's operation with money which he had earned would have been an excellent outlet.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Avoid holding up a child to ridicule and permitting other children to laugh at his discomfiture.

2. Comparisons are odious especially in the classroom. This is so whether you display the best pupil or the bad boy.

3. Find a way for each child to express himself.

4. Keep on the lookout for exaggerations. They indicate compensations.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. How does one use comparisons in retaining one's feeling of superiority?
2. How is compensation developed?
3. Why is overemphasis an excellent evidence of compensation?
4. Why cannot the teacher always do away with the sense of inferiority by giving the child a substitute standard?
5. Show how misconduct could be the result of compensation?

CHAPTER XII

Distorting Reality — Rationalization

The teacher deems it important to instruct the children under her care to control their emotional lives and make their behavior on all occasions the expression of intellectual deliberation. Acts performed at the behest of an emotional outbreak are looked upon with such disfavor that the child actually feels guilty when an emotion breaks through the surface. In order to provide further incentive for the rational life, we are taught that intellectual operations constitute the only factor of life upon which one dare pin his faith.

In spite of all our efforts to convince ourselves as to the absolute integrity of intellectual processes, modern psychology has demonstrated that there is no part of human life which is so unstable and so little to be depended upon. If reason were fixed and dependable we should expect uniformity of thought, but this is not found. The only place where there is a semblance of uniformity is in the realm of science where different lines of evidence corroborate the thing which is accepted. When we come to the rational interpretations of the findings of science, no two thinkers agree. Philosophy is an interesting gymnastic performance for those who need intellectual exercise, but no one expects to find two philosophies that harmonize, because, in spite of our preaching as to the integrity of human reason, we all know that this integrity is at the mercy of each individual thinker.

If reason indicates that certain lines of action are justified,

then we are satisfied to perform those acts; whereas to perform the same acts as the result of some blind impulse would leave us humiliated. So, we try to go through life with a cold and intellectual attitude, and even overbalance ourselves in the extreme fight we make against any emotional influence.

The degradation of emotions comes about not only because we are taught that conduct actuated by intellect is more desirable than that actuated by emotional stimuli, but also because some of the emotional springs themselves are regarded as actually vulgar and indecent.

We are not here concerned with an abstract consideration of whether it is better to be actuated in our conduct by reason or by emotion. From the psychological point of view, however, the normal life requires a proper balance of the two and not the hopeless attempt to exclude one. If one makes an attempt at such exclusion one is encountering an impossibility; he has placed his ideal beyond his reach. If he has created such an ideal he is later forced to compromise either by lowering the ideal or by distorting the appearance of things. This distortion acts in two ways: He fools himself as to himself by believing he has maintained his position as an ideal individual actuated solely by reason; and he lies to himself about the real situation which he is combating by changing the appearance of it. Hence, by this twofold distortion he keeps his ego exalted with the delusion that he is actuated by reason.

The writer once happened to know an old lady, seventy years of age, who had tried to kill off all emotional responses. One day she was shivering with the chill of a cold room. Someone offered her a shawl, but she irritably refused to put it on saying that she would not humor herself in that way. She spoke as if humoring her desire to be comfortable were a sin. The only way to induce her to wrap herself in an extra

covering was to argue with her that if she did not do so she would be sick and thus become an extra burden upon her sister, with whom she lived. Having been provided with an intellectual excuse, she took the shawl and was comfortable. As a matter of fact, the old lady wanted the shawl, and the real reason why she took it was because she wanted it. The altruistic notion of preventing trouble for her sister was not the real reason, it was an excuse which opened the way for her to do what she wanted to do.

This is what we call "rationalization" — inventing an excuse for doing the thing that we want to do, and covering up the wish by presenting the excuse as the real reason.

The fundamental thing is that the person does certain things because he wants to do them for his personal satisfaction; but, he cannot admit that this is the actuating motive, and so he presents arguments to support his position. This is very common in all our activities and there is probably not a single person but does this constantly. In ordinary affairs it makes little difference that this is so. When carried to an extreme, however, rationalization produces very grotesque and pitiable situations.

It does not take an individual long to learn this type of defense procedure. As an illustration, the writer was traveling on the train with his eighteen months old son when a man in the same coach began to play with the child. The seat that this man occupied was in a distant part of the coach, and the stranger attempted to persuade the boy to come to his seat with him. For some reason the boy did not want to go. As the man persisted in his temptations the boy became more and more determined that he would remain where he was. Finally, in order to justify his stand he said, "No, it is too cold back there." On the face of it, this reason was an absurd makeshift; but it illustrates clearly this tendency to

make excuses, which is the first form of the deeper types of rationalization.

When this process is seen in a child it is readily recognized as excuse-making but *the adult covers his excuses so that at times he is able to deceive both himself and others.* A young man who had received a very strict religious training was tempted to play baseball on Sunday for money. Some individuals might do this with no pangs of conscience, but the habits of this youth would not permit so easy a course. Still, he wanted the money; so he argued as follows: Earlier in his life he had sung in a church choir and had received pay for it. People today sing in church choirs on Sunday and receive pay. For these reasons it cannot be bad to receive money for services performed on Sunday. If it is not bad to receive money for entertaining people in the church it is no worse to receive pay for entertaining them on the ball field on the same day. Therefore, why should he not play ball on Sunday and receive money for so doing? This will be recognized as excuse-making. He was not arguing with anyone about the matter; no one had told him he must not do the thing he wanted to do. He was arguing in an attempt to convince himself that he was justified in doing the thing that he wanted to do and which he was going to do whether or not his reasoning was sound.

Let me give another case not quite so obvious as the preceding two. A certain college professor was solicited for a subscription to a fund which was to pay for something in which he had no interest. He did not want to give to this fund and yet he did not want to refuse directly. When the solicitor convinced him that he could make small payments in such a manner that he would not miss the money, he said that he already had given to a similar fund and he thought that in so doing he had fulfilled his obligations. It was then

argued that although he had given, he still had some obligation to this more immediate cause. He then countered with the statement that the cause itself was not so worthy as it was pictured, that he had given to the similar one only because he could not escape it, and that the world would have been better off if this subscription campaign had never been started. When the solicitor began to argue as to the merits of the campaign this professor, having used up all the rationalization ammunition that he could muster, flew into a fit of temper and ordered the solicitor from his office. This gives the typical procedure of the rationalization process. It starts with an excuse, passes on to a defense, and finally throws overboard all attempts to justify the conduct and ends in an emotional eruption. The final act of the professor proves that the emotional set was dominant throughout.

This is the real test of rationalization. It matters not whether a man is arguing about gifts, religion, philosophy, science, literature, art, poetry, morals, or anything under the sun; if he keeps his poise throughout, and, if finally outdone, he placidly accepts the outcome of reason, he is not rationalizing, but reasoning. If, on the other hand, he shows great perturbation should he be defeated in the debate, and finally goes into a rage, one can be reasonably sure that all his arguments were simply attempts to convince himself and others of the truth of something that he wished to believe. "If one is in the right he does not need to get angry; if he is in the wrong he cannot afford to."

A graduate student once presented to his professor for criticism the first half of his thesis. He asked the professor to be perfectly frank in expressing his opinions. The professor, after reading the thesis, made the criticism that it was not properly organized. It lacked unity and forced the reader to ask continually what the writer was trying to accomplish in the presen-

tation. The professor further informed the student that his material was very good and that a revision toward greater unity would make it fully acceptable. The criticism was a blow to the student's pride. Instead of working to remedy the defect he worked to prove that the professor was wrong. He made an outline of the thesis, took this outline to other members of the faculty one after another, and attempted to get them to admit the unity of his thesis as shown in the outline. After having accumulated the opinions of six others to the effect that his outline was logical, he claimed that the first professor was wrong and that his thesis was perfect. He spent much more energy convincing himself that he had done a perfect piece of work than it would have taken him to modify it in accordance with the first criticism. Finally, after all this energy had been wasted, he went to work and revised the thesis, and only then admitted that the final work had been necessary and that the ultimate product was much better as a result. *One can prove to himself the truth of almost anything if he is anxious enough to do so, goes about it in the right manner, and persists long enough.* But there is nothing to be gained by so doing, except a false inflation of one's ego, unless there is an actual truth to be proved.

Since rationalization plays such a large part in our mental processes it is important to understand just how our educational system is related to the fostering of this tendency. A little analysis will show that the training toward rationalization begins very early in a child's life, before he enters school, and is furthered by the training that he receives both at home and at school. The first step in his education in this direction is when he learns the difference between a plain lie and a glossed-over lie. He finds that if he is caught in a plain lie he is punished, while if he glosses it over in the form of an excuse, he is not so likely to be punished. An excuse,

even if crude, is accepted where a lie is not. Hence he tells his lies with a sugar coating of excuse. The most acceptable excuse is the one that has a rational appearance, and so reason becomes a synonym for excuse. A girl is angry because she has to stay and help her mother with the dishes. Because she is angry she breaks a dish. Her mother begins to scold her, whereupon she gives a "reason." She had a cut on her finger and accidentally hit it. The pain was so sharp that she could not help jumping and so dropped the dish. The girl knows that the real reason was that she was angry, but if her mother accepts her glossed-over lie why should she not tell her story in that way?

An excuse is also more acceptable than a direct lie for another reason. This is that it contains an element of truth. Probably the girl did hurt her finger; she is telling the truth even if she is telling only the smallest part. One can hide very important facts if he is only clever enough to place emphasis on some trivial circumstance.

When the child goes to school the teacher advances him still further in this excuse-making program. If he is late he is punished unless he gives a good excuse; so he invents those that "get by." He becomes an adept in slight changes in emphasis or in distortions in order to deceive others, and continues this process until he even deceives himself. Thus he has learned to rationalize. He seems extremely honest in that he cannot be caught in a lie; but if you should remove the sugar coating you might find that he is a constant liar.

Then he goes a step further in that he is taught that intellectual processes are infallible. He has learned to argue that the things he wishes are so and now he learns that the reasoning process involved is perfect. Is it any wonder he comes to the point of actual self-deception? It would be well if he

were taught that one may make gross errors in reasoning due to unknown or unnoticed factors. He would then be on the lookout for flaws in his reasoning and lose his worship of human intellectual processes.

For instance, the writer had advanced far enough in algebra to feel that its processes gave absolutely accurate results, when the teacher presented the following proposition:

$$16 - 36 + \frac{81}{4} = 25 - 45 + \frac{81}{4}$$

This is a perfect equation as can be seen by inspection. Sixteen minus thirty-six leaves minus twenty and twenty-five minus forty-five also leaves minus twenty. So the value of each side is $-20 + \frac{81}{4}$ and the equation has been justified. Further, both members of this equation are perfect squares. Take the first member. The square root of 16 is 4; the square root of $\frac{81}{4}$ is $\frac{9}{2}$; twice the product of 4 by $\frac{9}{2}$ is 36. Hence the first member is a perfect square of $4 - \frac{9}{2}$. In the same way it can be shown that the second member is the square of $5 - \frac{9}{2}$. Since the square roots of equals are equal we may take the square root of the equation and then have:

$$4 - \frac{9}{2} = 5 - \frac{9}{2}$$

Adding $\frac{9}{2}$ to each side we have $4 = 5$.

The teacher placed this demonstration on the board and told us to go home and think about it. It was, of course, based on the omission of a very important principle; namely, that when the square root is extracted the root may be either

a plus or a minus quantity. So the real equation after extracting the square root should be:

$$\pm (4 - \tfrac{9}{2}) = \pm (5 - \tfrac{9}{2}) \text{ or } \pm (4 - 4\tfrac{1}{2}) = \pm (5 - 4\tfrac{1}{2})$$

This gives the following values as possibilities of this equation:

$$+4 - 4\tfrac{1}{2} = +5 - 4\tfrac{1}{2} \text{ or } -\tfrac{1}{2} = +\tfrac{1}{2}$$
$$+4 - 4\tfrac{1}{2} = -5 + 4\tfrac{1}{2} \text{ or } -\tfrac{1}{2} = -\tfrac{1}{2}$$
$$-4 + 4\tfrac{1}{2} = +5 - 4\tfrac{1}{2} \text{ or } +\tfrac{1}{2} = +\tfrac{1}{2}$$
$$-4 + 4\tfrac{1}{2} = -5 + 4\tfrac{1}{2} \text{ or } +\tfrac{1}{2} = -\tfrac{1}{2}$$

This lesson was given the writer twenty years ago and it is one that he has never forgotten. But it is not simply the specific lesson that has been retained but the general application of it, which was strongly emphasized by the teacher at that time. This was stated thus: "*Do not be too sure; there may be something you have overlooked or that you do not know.*" The name of this teacher is gone, the writer has never heard of him since he left high school; but he was a real force in molding the thought of that class.

Now, the situation is easy enough in the above example. One knows that 4 does not equal 5 and he recognizes at once that there is a fallacy involved. If he cannot find the fallacy he does not believe the proposition anyway, simply confessing that he cannot find the flaw. But suppose that one would like to believe that 4 equals 5 — the whole thing is changed. Let us suppose that 4 means good and 5 means bad. Now, some 5 (bad) has come into my life and I am chagrined. I am perfectly sure that 5 (bad) cannot equal 4 (good); the thing is a permanent blot on my character. Then someone comes along and gives me absolute proof (as in the proposition above), that in this particular instance, 5 (bad) equals 4 (good). How I jump at the demonstration! I am happy and will not look for the fallacy. I do not want

it to be a fallacy; I want to believe it. Hence, even though I might profess to investigate the proposition, I am certain never to find the flaw.

There is a possibility of clear reasoning with no emotional bias. Such is the reasoning of the mathematician where the facts are not dealt with as concrete entities but as abstractions. It is difficult to lend any emotional bias to abstractions. On the other hand, a scientist may well be influenced by his desires in his scientific findings. Indeed, the very fact that he has given birth to a hypothesis biases him in favor of evidence which will support that hypothesis, and in spite of himself he will tend to be blinded to evidence opposing his theory. All scientists recognize this tendency and fight against it in themselves; furthermore, they encourage the repetition of their experiments by others who do not entertain the same personal bias toward their theories. It is when these indifferent or antagonistic investigators obtain the same findings that a scientific theory may be accepted with some confidence. *Evidence which can only be discovered by those biased in favor of a theory is no evidence at all.*

Political beliefs, religion, moral ideals, and philosophy are all dominated by the process of rationalization. A man always insists that he adheres to a certain political party for certain good reasons which he can enumerate very eloquently. Trace the facts and you will find, as a rule, that he votes the way he does for some emotional reason and that the arguments have often been given him by some political leader. The same holds for other fields. How many people can give any good reason why they are Methodists rather than Baptists or Episcopalians rather than Catholics? They may have some superficial rationalizations, and probably will have, but as a matter of fact it will be found that they know practically nothing of the theology of any denomination.

Our moral conduct likewise gives evidence of this process. We have shown that moral codes are established through the training we have received, and this training will hold just as any habit will hold; that is, until some stimulus to do something different becomes too strong. After we have sidestepped our moral customs in some slight manner it is remarkable how we can bring up all sorts of arguments to support our acts.

Thus, it is a familiar fact that people of otherwise irreproachable honesty will swindle the government or a railway company with untroubled equanimity. If they are taxed with the incongruity between their principles and their conduct, a varied crop of rationalizations will be immediately produced. They will point out that a company is not the same thing as an individual, that nobody really loses anything, that the fares or taxes are so inequitable that it is justifiable to evade them, and so on. The distinction between the real and apparent causes of mental processes is well illustrated in the advice given to the newly created judge: "Give your decision; it will probably be right. But do not give your reasons; they will almost certainly be wrong." [1]

Much of the apparently hopeless irrationality of the insane can be understood if we recognize the workings of the principle of rationalization. Some knowledge has been forced upon them which they were absolutely unwilling to admit. A woman who is well on in years and who has been highly repressed feels an attraction for a married man; a man feels that he is no longer able to hold the affections of his wife; a young girl feels an almost irresistible impulse to do some unconventional act. These new elements are so foreign to all the rest of their existences that they cannot admit them as part of themselves and so they explain them in some other ways than the true ones. They begin to search for evidence. They are blinded to all evidence that points to the truth — that these are parts of their personalities — so they seize on anything that shows such elements to be from some other

[1] HART, BERNARD — *The Psychology of Insanity;* Cambridge University Press, 1921.

source. Even if the evidence is thrust upon them they refuse to accept it; they cannot be convinced. "A man convinced against his will, is of the same opinion still." These people (and we are all more or less this way) do not want to believe the truth, and they cannot be convinced.

The point to be remembered in this connection, is that the degree of fixity is the result of emotional stress. The judgment of these people seems to be highly distorted; they cannot reason correctly, according to our notion. The cause is that they cannot believe the truth without admitting a loss to their ego. It is more satisfying to distort the facts than to admit that these are not as the individuals in the case would like them to be. Have you never taken part in an argument in which your opponent simply seemed too blind to see your point of view? You wondered at his lack of insight. The facts were, to you, beyond question. Have you ever noticed that in this same argument your opponent had the same opinion as to your lack of insight? *Emotion blinds insight* and we are all more or less distorted in our outlook.

It is not everybody who carries this process of rationalization to an extreme degree; the extreme is reached only by the type of person who is peculiarly satisfied by reason, for rationalization is the stronghold of the intellectuals and does not appeal so strongly to the objective type of individual. Further, exaggerated rationalism can only satisfy the man who is a self-centered egotist. One has forced upon him the fact that in the realm of reason there are differences of opinion. The logical reaction to this recognition is to make room for views radically different from our own. This is easy enough where there is no vital interest in the point at issue. Let the issue relate closely to the desires of the subject and the case is quite different. We are likely to assert: "It matters not what the other man says, he is ignorant; he lacks insight; my

view is right and I know it." So the one who gets satisfaction in this way is skeptical of the intellectual prowess of everyone but himself. No one, it seems, is intellectually honest but himself, and often the others have vile and improper motives behind their conduct and thoughts — a thing far from the individual filled with the delusional system — so he thinks.

The form of distortion which reasoning may undergo in rationalization is of two types. The first is known as the creation of *logic tight compartments* and the second is the *distortion of emphasis.*

In the logic tight compartment method the individual has two separate systems of ideas which are in reality incompatible but which do not strike the individual as inharmonious. A man may have one system of ideas in regard to his politics, another in relation to his business, another in relation to religion, and still another in regard to his family life. There is no reason why ideas in all of these different fields should not harmonize, but it often happens that they do not. To be entirely consistent in all branches of one's life would oftentimes be a hard task; one would have to study all the implications of his mental life in all its irradiations. Instead of doing this, one has a certain compartment which contains religious ideas; this compartment may be entirely separated from his political compartment so that in politics he is one personality and in church life he may be another. He changes from one to the other as readily as he changes his clothes.

We form these logic tight compartments because we accept things on authority. We accept certain statements in one situation and then in another situation accept others. The difference in setting makes us fail to perceive the contradiction and the impossibility of accepting both. When a young child does see such an inconsistency he is usually told that he must take the word of the adult for it and that he will under-

stand the whole thing later. This is bad pedagogy. A six-year-old boy came home from school one day and said that the teacher had told them something that was not so. She had told them that the earth was round, that it turned around like a ball. He said that it was not so because one would fall off when he was on the bottom and that the buildings would be upside down. Such arguments of the child should be met in a reasonable way. He should be shown by some simple experimental illustration that it is possible for the world to be round. He should not be asked to accept a statement because the teacher says it is so or because it is in a book if it seems untrue to him. *The child should be taught to register his doubts in school, and the teacher should either clear them up or leave the doubt there.* If she insists that he must believe a thing whether he understands or not, she is paving the way for inconsistencies and logic tight compartments and teaching him to use this inept method of meeting difficulties.

It should be indicated, however, that in one sense the use of logic tight compartments is an advantage. The escape from one group of ideas to another is often in the nature of a relief. The business man puts off his business when he comes home and is quite a different individual. All day long he has been hard, close, and unrelenting in his methods. He comes home to his wife and children and laughs, romps, and acts like a boy; so that his business associates would not know him for the same man should they see him. Many a wife has wondered why her husband can never remember to bring home the thing that she asked him to buy on his way from business. It is because he does not think of the item during the day for he is living in a different world where all the ideas are different, and it is only when he throws over this group of thoughts that his mind can revert to the affairs of home and, of course, if he does not make the complete shift from business

to home until he gets to the home, he has forgotten the errand he was to perform.

The other form of rationalization, that of distortion of emphasis, is manifold in its forms. An attempt is made to harmonize divergent ideas, and in order to do this one group or other must be distorted. One wants to believe a certain thing. However, his personality will not let him believe it, or the facts as they are presented to him are contrary to the thing he would like to believe; so he distorts his reasoning processes. A boy who does not want to practice on the piano will find a thousand and one excuses why he cannot practice just now; he will have to hoe the potatoes, he will have to mow the lawn, the pig pens need to be cleaned. Almost any dirty job is chosen rather than the detested music study. All the reasons seem perfectly valid to the shirker; they only seem out of proportion to the one who views them dispassionately. So the distortions of the one who wants to believe a certain thing seem to him to be sound and well proportioned.

Where rationalization goes to the extent of extreme distortion, it leads to an actual delusional system and the individual who possesses such a delusion is said to be *paranoid*. The extent to which this process goes varies greatly. In some cases the individual is able to uphold his position with great cleverness; all the internal evidence is sound and one is inclined to believe that the story is true. In most cases, however, the story has flaws in it. By internal evidence alone one is convinced that the person is deluded. These cases are usually included in the dementia præcox group and the condition is called *paranoid dementia præcox*.

The following case illustrates such a crude delusion: An unmarried woman of fifty-two, while working in a certain establishment, met casually a man who paid little attention to her. Some time after their meeting she was convinced

that the man was following her. She says that one evening as she was standing on the street she saw this man going by with the chief of police and heard him ask the chief whether he might follow her. Since that time, she declares, he has done everything in his power to ruin her reputation, following her from town to town and annoying her in every way. As soon as this man arrives on the scene she notices a "change in the atmosphere" — people have no more to do with her. This idea has taken such root in her mind that she will talk about nothing but this pursuit.

Working in league with the man, she says, is a woman for whom she (the patient) worked at one time. The pursuers travel in automobiles, changing the make in order to fool the patient. The reason given by the patient for this pursuit is that the woman pursuer is in love with the man and is afraid that the man is also interested in the patient; so she makes him follow the patient and torment her. She follows the trail to witness the torture and so assure herself that the man cares only for her and not for the patient.

Here is a queer distortion of rational processes. It started from the patient's hidden desire that the man should follow her. This desire she dared not admit to herself, so she expressed it as a fear that she was being followed by him. This fear she changed to an actual affirmation. Her wish to be pursued by the man is gratified by the idea that the entire time of these two people is taken up in a vain chase after her.

It is only one step beyond this to the actual false perception known as *hallucination*. In the case given above, the person does not actually perceive a man following when there is none in pursuit. She simply interprets every auto as the pursuing auto if it is identified by the peculiar feeling that she herself has. In the case of *hallucination*, a description of which

follows, no man need be present to gratify this woman; she perceives her lover when there is no person present at all.

This woman when young was in love with a young man whom she left in a foreign country. After being in this country for some time she married and has had children. Some time ago she began to hear her old lover speaking to her. He told her that he would send her a ticket so that she might return to him to be married. Later he told her that he was with her, and has been living as her husband all the past thirty-two years. From this moment she has seen her real husband "as a stranger," without taking any interest in him. Acting on the reality of the presence of her lover she told her husband that she could no longer live with him and forced him to leave the home. She then took care of the children herself. In all this the patient is extremely happy. She says that at times she is so happy that she can hardly control herself. She is in love with her childhood lover and is perfectly happy now that, in her hallucination, he has come to stay with her and her real husband has gone.

Here the desire actually changed reality as far as the woman was concerned; and she is perfectly happy living with a fictitious husband whom she likes rather than with her real husband, whom she does not like.

In other cases the delusion arises, not so much in the distortion of reality to satisfy a desire in the individual, as through cowardice that wishes someone else to take the blame. This reaction is extremely common among children and should never be encouraged, for when carried to an extreme it leads to *delusions of persecution*. A simple illustration will show how the reaction may manifest itself. A girl who was rather awkward spilled some water over the dining-room table while she was filling the glasses. Her mother came in at that moment and scolded her; to defend herself the girl

cried out, "It was brother's fault; he was looking at me." The mother, thereupon, ceased scolding the girl and censured the boy very severely for looking at his sister. The mother, by accepting and acting on this absurd rationalization of the girl, was teaching her to rely upon delusional blaming of others in order to defend herself. This does not mean that such training inevitably leads to a more serious disorder of the reasoning process; but it does mean that if one wishes to guard against such possibilities, he should not teach children to blame others unjustly nor encourage them when they do so.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Give the emotional life due honor. Do not degrade it in order to uphold reason. When a child does something because he enjoys it, do not teach him to give a rational explanation for his conduct. Above all do not make him say he is sorry for a thing when he is not.

2. Instill into the child the truth that the reason is not infallible. Teach him the following: "Do not be too sure; there may be something you have overlooked or that you do not know."

3. Teach children to be consistent. When they bring up statements that do not harmonize, do not dismiss them with an authoritative statement of your own. This tends toward the development of logic tight compartments. Let the dilemma remain rather than dispose of it by authority.

4. Encourage children to take the just blame for what they do rather than to make excuses which transfer the blame unfairly to accidents, false causes, or to other individuals.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. How do we use reason to cover our emotions?
2. How is reason used to uphold one's ego?
3. Define rationalization.
4. Show how we learn to rationalize.
5. How can teaching be arranged to prevent rationalization?
6. Indicate the effect of rationalization on different forms of belief.
7. Differentiate lies, excuses, and reasons.
8. What is meant by logic tight compartments?
9. How can rationalization lead to a paranoid delusion?
10. Show how an hallucination may develop from a rationalization.

CHAPTER XIII

Distorting Reality — Blaming the Incidental Cause

When one has a mental conflict he is usually very ready with some explanation that places the blame upon something very definite which the individual can describe in great detail. This definite thing is almost sure not to be the real source of the trouble. He brings it forward because he is trying to cover the real cause, which may be partially known to him or may be unconscious. This method of diverting attention when attempting to escape an embarrassing situation is very common; and, because it is so effective, becomes a strong weapon in the hands of the one who is attempting to conceal a mental struggle. This is the trick that the sleight-of-hand performer uses. He will cleverly get the audience to attend to some special part of his activity and then do the trick by a movement from which their attention is diverted, thus fooling the entire audience. Just so, those who develop a mental conflict try to get the doctor or others to fixate their attention on some nervous tremor, on a headache, a limb which does not function properly, or some pain which they have developed in a mysterious manner. Bodily symptoms are not the only things which come in for this false emphasis, but since they are so convenient they are overworked in this connection. When this tendency is developed to an abnormal degree it is called *conversion hysteria*. The mental conflict is converted into a symptom usually connected with a disease or some equivalent distraction.

In order to make clear how such a procedure develops, let me illustrate. A young man came to a hospital with the complaint that he could not breathe properly. As soon as he exerted himself in the slightest degree he would pant in a painful way. Yet when this man was off his guard or happened to fix his attention on something else for a time his breathing became perfect. As soon, however, as his attention went back to himself his breathing became rapid and irregular. There could be found no adequate explanation for this peculiar phenomenon. It was later discovered that this strange breathing developed in an odd manner. He had never shown any such peculiarity until one morning when his mother came into his room when he was half asleep and asked him what had been the matter. She told him that through the night she had heard him breathing in a very peculiar manner and that he had been doing this just as she came into the room. He immediately began to exaggerate his panting and to say that he could not understand it. This excited the mother very much. She kept talking about it, called the physician, and tried in every way to unravel the difficulty. Now from side evidence it was probable that this young man had experienced just before the mother came into the room a dream of which he was ashamed. The panting breath was the result of the erotic dream, the content of which he would not divulge, and the mother offered to him a way out by the fact that she fixed her attention on the breathing. What easier way out of an unpleasant situation than to keep her attention on such a trivial thing as the breathing? In this way he was saved embarrassing explanations. To constitute conversion hysteria the reason back of the symptom must be an unconscious one as was the case with this patient. If the person uses such a ruse consciously it is simple malingering.

The only way to cure such a symptom is to show the individual what he is covering; and, if he sees that his ruse no longer works, he has no further use for it. He will either have to get some other method of fooling people or abandon such methods altogether. An interesting feature of such situations is that in almost every case it can be discovered that some innocent adult has given the patient the idea which has been used in covering up his real difficulty. If one, by a little peculiar breathing, can so divert the attention of elders that they will not ask embarrassing questions, why not let them keep their attention on the breathing? The difficulty lies in the fact that the means to cover up become more and more embarrassing and the patient is frightened out of his senses for fear some one will see through his ruse. So he has to exaggerate his symptom more and more until that is all that he can think about. His life is disrupted in his attempt to cover up a thing that might better have been admitted. A candid admission by this young man at the start that he had had an erotic dream would have ended the whole affair. As it was he had to leave his work, come to the hospital, and go through the suffering of having a doctor dig out a secret, which should never have been a secret in the first place.

Another young man, twenty-two years of age, came into a clinic with the complaint that he had a disordered stomach. He had been to a hospital, had been carefully examined and placed on a diet, but had received no benefit. He asserted that all his trouble was due to the fact that he smoked cigarettes. In support of this statement he described the attempts he had made to overcome this habit as though it were the root of his trouble. A little questioning showed that the cigarette smoking was simply a ruse to cover up his real trouble. He smoked but three or four a day but seemed to

experience the most violent effects from these. Asked when he first began to smoke, he stated that he had never smoked until he was about seventeen and went on to say that he remembers very vividly his first smoke. He was in a lonely part of the country and felt that he would just have to smoke. He fought against it but finally gave in, and as he did so kept saying to himself, "Well, here is where I go to the bad!" Now, why did he have such a tremendous moral conflict about the smoking of a cigarette that, upon smoking his first one, he gave himself up as lost? He gave as the obvious reason for this conflict the fact that his father had been a heavy smoker and drinker and had ruined the whole family with these habits. The real reason was the fact that his father had advised him to smoke, telling him that he would by this means be able to break off an autoerotic habit. He did not at first take the advice of his father but continued his habit and refrained from smoking. Some literature which he had been receiving prior to his beginning to smoke had stirred him up tremendously and made him believe that he would have to break off his autoerotic habit or suffer dire consequences. Hence, in spite of his dislike for smoking, he took it up as a substitute for the worse habit. This makes clear the reason why smoking was so important, and it shows how he was using it to cover up a deeper conflict. When he discovered the real nature of his trouble his stomach cleared up and he was as well as he had ever been.

The production of illness in order to get what one wishes is a very common thing. Every mother is familiar with the fact that an illness will spoil the best child. During the illness the parents and nurses wait upon the child with great care and in a way that is not duplicated when strength is regained. The child does not want to forego the pleasure of this attention and consequently is very likely to attempt

to prolong the symptoms so as to gain a continuation of solicitous care. The mother apologizes for her ill-behaved child with the excuse that she spoiled him while he was sick and that she has not had time as yet to retrain him. The soldiers who were so unfortunate as to need care in hospitals during the war recognized this and the song, "I Don't Want to Get Well," was very popular at that time. None of us care particularly about getting sick, but the pleasures of extra attention are compensations for discomforts of illness that none of us refuse to accept.

Now, suppose, as a child, one learns that this means of securing desired things is more efficacious than any other he has ever tried; the tendency will be for him to use this when a particularly desirable thing is withheld. If each time he uses this method he gains the desired end, the tendency becomes fixed as a habit and will result in being a means of escape from all sorts of trivial or even serious difficulties. For this reason there are some adults who are constantly sick in order to get some advantage. They may not be conscious that they are making use of illness as a lever, but the reaction has become habitual and they cannot help it so long as it works, and usually they find occasions where the ruse does work.

The different ways in which conversion hysteria may manifest itself in the schoolroom are so manifold that it takes a very keen observer not to be deceived. One thirteen-year-old boy was sent to a hospital with the record of having had terrific headaches since the age of six; that is, since starting school. He had fooled his teachers and mother for seven years. The description that he gives of these headaches shows that they were developed for a purpose. They came on in the morning when his mother wanted him to go to school. Sometimes he did not have to go on account of

them. If he did go on to school they became worse so that he got very dizzy and had to be sent home. When he got home they got much worse if his mother insisted that he go to bed. Bed seemed to be very bad for these headaches, so he was permitted to stay up, and usually after it was too late to return to school the pain left him. The cure for his headaches seemed to be dismissal from school with permission to play the rest of the day. He developed one of these headaches the first day of his stay at the hospital and was made to stay in bed the rest of the day. The second day he was all right and enjoyed playing around the hospital. The third day he developed another headache and was made to stay in bed the entire day, although he insisted that he was better when he saw he was not going to avoid the bed treatment. He was told that he would have to stay in bed the entire day if he had any more headaches, and strangely enough that was the last one he experienced during his entire stay of five weeks. The only way to break up such a thing is to see that the child does not get the reward he is after, but suffers more than he gains. Of course a teacher has to be careful, for one who looks like a dissimulator may have a real disorder. Medical examination is necessary in all such cases to eliminate such a possibility. Nevertheless, the teacher should be on the lookout for such exaggerations; for, if she is fooled by them, she is training the child to use them. If these cases are not checked in childhood they may develop to such an extreme that the person makes life a burden for himself and all his relatives as well.

This extreme development is illustrated in the following case. The patient's mother had been a spoiled child before her, and so the patient got fine training for her hysteric personality. Her mother was always complaining; when ill she was worse than anyone else. She was radically reli-

gious, and always thought she was absolutely right, that it was impossible for her to make a mistake. Many times she would gather the whole family around her bedside, saying that she was dying, and would bid them all an affectionate farewell, only to recover and repeat the heart-rending performance later. She would have spells in which her muscles would twitch and she would fall out of her chair, although she never lost consciousness. Then she would be in bed for six months at a time and during these periods of "illness" would insist that she be considered first and that her daughter (the patient) stay with her. If she was not sick she also insisted that the patient stay with her for fear she might get sick.

The patient has an only daughter whom she wants to wait upon her as she did upon her mother. The daughter sees through the situation and refuses to be made the dupe of such a trick, and a large part of the patient's symptoms and illnesses are attempts to force from the daughter homage of the sort that she once gave to her own mother.

In 1919, the patient had an attack of mucous colitis with a "nervous breakdown." This served as a lever to induce her husband to begin building in the city so that they could move from the farm where she had to do a good deal of hard work. The patient looked forward happily to the time when she could live a life of leisure in the city. Owing to financial difficulties the house got no further than the foundation and the thought of building had to be abandoned for a time. Following this, in the winter of 1921, she insisted on living in a hotel in town on the ground that she was not well enough to live in the country. In the following March the husband planned to return to the farm but the patient, dreading hard work, opposed the plan. However, they went. As soon as they arrived at the farm the patient was extremely

dissatisfied. She made a servant do all the work. She cried a great deal, would wring her hands on the slightest provocation and run her fingers through her hair for hours at a time. She was so miserable that her husband was deceived by her tricks and took her to a sanitarium and left her there for eleven weeks.

On her return home she showed no improvement and so stayed at the home of her daughter (who was married and lived in town) while her daughter kept house on the farm. The daughter did not fancy this arrangement and, wanting to return to her home, induced the patient to come back to the farm. She did so, but was frantic when she learned that her daughter was returning to town instead of staying on the farm. She cried, walked the floor, "pranced about," and kept saying, "There is something terribly wrong with me and I get no sympathy. Take me to the insane asylum." A physician was called but he would not listen to her excited conversation and told her she would have to be quiet. She visited her daughter in town every day and talked about herself continuously. When the daughter told her to stop talking she would cry, saying that the daughter mistreated her and, still crying, would return to the farm.

She then went to a near-by city to take treatments from a quack "psychologist" for nine weeks. He would place her in a chair and walk back and forth in front of her, saying: "You are relaxing your muscles and nerves, you are relaxing your muscles and nerves," over and over again. He assured her that he was saving her from a terrible end; that if she had not had his services, she would have become insane and might have murdered someone. This acted as seed and one night she developed the idea that she might murder the children of the people with whom she was rooming when they were left with her while the parents went to a theatre. She

put the children to bed and locked herself in her room for fear she would do them harm. That night she sat up in bed, shook and jerked, and wrung her hands. The landlady called the physician who said that her trouble was nothing but a tantrum. She succeeded in having her daughter sent for, however, on the pretext that she was in a serious condition, and kept her there for several weeks. But the daughter's husband and child came too and this proved to be a fly in the ointment. Every time the daughter and her husband wanted to go out together the mother would get very much worse. She seemed to feel that she was abused if asked to stay with the baby. Finally, she returned home and spent her time talking to the neighbors about her terrible condition. She seldom smiled and continually said that everyone except her daughter and the daughter's husband appreciated the fact that there was something terribly wrong with her. Every time she was crossed she would have a tantrum, in which she would hold her breath, make queer sounds, refuse to talk, throw back her head, and "arch herself in bed so that her back did not touch the bed."

All the sickness of this woman was simply an elaboration of the childish performance of being ill in order to achieve the selfish end of getting attention. She had been taught that such methods succeed, had actually succeeded with them herself on many previous occasions, and so was continuing to practice the same tricks.

Hysterical young girls may stage all sorts of performances in order to get the attention and sympathy they see showered upon some other girl who has had some unfortunate experience. A certain girl of seventeen did very satisfactory work in school and seemed normal in every way. Presently the teacher of the school that she attended began to receive anonymous letters stating vile things about the patient. The teacher

began to study the patient and decided that the accusations contained in the letters were untrue. Soon after this the patient brought to the teacher a letter which she claimed that she had received, making similar accusations. These letters kept coming both to the teacher and to the patient so that the teacher sent them to the postal authorities to have them traced. It was found that the patient herself was writing and mailing these letters. Soon after this she told the teacher that she had something to tell her and finally put her "confession" in writing. The facts as she stated them were all untrue; there was nothing in the history of the girl to bear out her story. She stated that she and another girl were taking dancing lessons from a man teacher and were taken out for a drive one evening by this dancing teacher, who gave them some candy which put them to sleep. In a short time the patient found that she was ill and her mother took her to a doctor who advised a criminal operation, which took place in a distant city. The girl told several similar stories, each one having as little truth as the one narrated above. It seems difficult to understand why a girl who wants attention should select methods which bring actually disgraceful stories into play in order to achieve it; yet this case is by no means unique.

A very novel form of this sort of conversion is seen in the case of a boy who could not spell. This nine-year-old boy was in the fourth grade and did good work in every branch except spelling. He had an intelligence quotient of 110 and there seemed to be no reason why he could not learn this one subject. The complaint was that he could not spell even second-grade words while all his other work was good enough to warrant passing him to the fifth grade. The school authorities did not know whether to keep him in the fourth grade for another year or pass him in spite of his defective spelling.

In a hospital to which he was taken for examination it was found that he could spell most of the fourth-grade words. He could pass a standard spelling test, but there were some very simple words on which he failed. On analysis it was found that he could not spell such words as: *girl*, *mamma*, *sister*, *mother*, etc. On the other hand he could spell such a word as *chemistry*. Further, the way in which he misspelled was significant. Asked to spell *girl* he would try every way but the right way. He would spell, *gurl*, *gerl*, *girle*, *gerle*, *gurle*, *gyrl*, etc. He never was able to get the correct combination. It looked as though he was carefully avoiding the right spelling. He did the same sort of thing with the other simple words that he could not spell.

The boy was found to have some queer notions about girls and women, which had developed as a result of unwise training by his mother. As a result of this he had a terrific conflict which he projected against spelling any word that related to the female sex. After one conversation in which these things were brought to light he suddenly said, "I can spell *girl* now, *g-i-r-l*. I used to be able to spell it before; I just forgot it, I guess." The other words came back with equal ease.

When a child develops an incapacity along any particular line the teacher should not too quickly conclude that the child has some defect. He may have transferred his mental conflict to that particular performance. Suppose this boy had not been straightened out in his ideas. He would have gone on through school getting all his subjects but spelling and would have always been a poor speller. In failing to spell he was taking out his revenge on girls, showing contempt for them by maltreatment of word symbols standing for them. The trouble in such a situation is aggravated by the fact that the teacher often has a hidden suspicion of the true nature

of the child's disorder, and has an emotional resentment against the child without clearly understanding its nature. There was always an open battle between this boy and woman teachers. By misspelling certain words he had developed a clever way of insulting the teacher he hated. He was silently saying, "You mean nothing to me. I cannot even spell you. It would be too much of a bore to try. I cannot cater enough to you to even spell you. Yes, it is an easy word. I can do other things, much harder, but you are not worth spelling." Now of course the teacher could not hope to win the confidence of this boy enough to clear up his trouble; but, instead of resenting his conduct and fighting with him as she did, his teacher should have secured the help of some other teacher or of the principal. The principal, being a man and thus not objectionable to the child, might have helped him to an adjustment.

How many adults who have a particular lack in spelling, arithmetic, history, geography, or geometry have developed this lack as a substitute for some mental conflict which came on as a child and which was never cleared up? The boy can often spite his teacher by not doing work for her. Often the success or failure of children depends upon whether they like or dislike the teacher in charge of that subject. If a boy hates the teacher who started him in a subject, he may always be poor in that subject.

There is a peculiarity of behavior that almost every teacher observes in children. It is a peculiar convulsive movement which is obviously beyond the control of the child. The movement may be strictly localized or it may be more general in nature. When it appears in the face, as it is very apt to do, it may be seen in grimaces of a thousand kinds, affecting the eyes, nose, and mouth. One may pucker his forehead in

various ways, may raise or lower his eyebrows, wink, make his nostrils tremble, open or close them too much. One person may repeatedly blow violently through one nostril or the other. Others seem to wipe their noses or sneeze excessively. Some draw their lips back to one side suddenly, or they continually bite their lips. The movement may affect the neck, in which case the child may have a stiff neck, he may suddenly and involuntarily incline his head toward one shoulder, throw it back, bend it forward or turn it on its axis. These movements are repeated every two or three seconds in a very unexplainable manner. When they involve only a small portion of the body or a small group of muscles they are called *tics*. In some cases they involve larger portions of the body, or even the whole body, in which case they are called *choreic movements*. Chorea is commonly known as St. Vitus' dance.

Sometimes such movements are caused by organic irritations, but in other cases they are merely habits which are adopted as means of distortion of emphasis. If they are organic they are not likely to be affected by the attitude of the child. If, on the other hand, the child is able to refrain from these movements until his attention is directed toward them, and he then begins to twitch, it is evidence that the movements are hysteriform and not organic; that is, they are due to a mental conflict.

When of the hysteriform sort, these movements have the common characteristic that they are not distasteful to those afflicted by them. The patients say that they are trying to stop, that they do not like to perform peculiar actions, but at the same time they seem to be perfectly happy about it. For example, one patient in a hospital would lie flat on his back in bed. Suddenly he would give a violent contraction of his back muscles in such a way that he would throw himself several feet up from the bed. The body would scarcely have stretched

out to normal when another violent jerk would come and throw him up in the air again. These movements would last from several minutes to half an hour and the patient would be utterly exhausted at the close of such a session. One might think that such a violent series of movements would be extremely unpleasant. On the contrary, this patient, perfectly conscious all through, would look up after a particularly violent jerk and laughingly say, "That was a good one, wasn't it?" The observer would be forced to infer that while the attacks looked gruesome the patient was certainly enjoying them.

It takes a peculiar form of personality to develop affections of the sort that we have been describing. People possessed of this form are sure that they are at the center of interest — that they are being observed. If they develop a mental conflict they think that their real source of conflict must be observed by all those about them, and in order to attract the attention of such persons they adopt these queer performances. The audience, seeing these peculiar movements, have their attention drawn from the real trouble and the patient thus escapes detection. Unless one felt himself the center of much interest he could not organize any such defense. *These individuals are all intensely in love with themselves.*

Ferenczi [1] describes a typical case of this sort:

> One of the first cases I encountered was a young man who had a repeated twitching of the face and neck muscles. I watched him from a neighboring table in a restaurant and observed how he behaved. Every few minutes he gave a little cough and fidgeted with his cuffs till they were absolutely in order with the links turned outwards. He corrected the set of his stiff collar with his hands or by means of a movement of the head, or else he made a series of those movements usual with those who have tics, as though he would free his body from the irksomeness of his clothing. In fact, he never ceased, although unconsciously, to devote the greater part of his attention to his own body or

[1] FERENCZI, S. — *Contributions to Psycho-Analysis;* Richard G. Badger, 1916 (By permission of the publisher.)

to his clothes, even while he was consciously occupied in quite other directions, such as eating, or reading the paper. I took him for a man possessed of pronounced hypersensibility and unable to endure a physical stimulus without a defence reaction.

This conjecture was confirmed when I saw to my surprise this young man, who . . . was well brought up and accustomed to move in good social circles, draw out a small hand-mirror immediately after the meal, and in front of those present, proceed to clear the remains of food from his teeth with a tooth pick, and this all the time with the aid of the little glass; he never paused until he had cleaned all his well-kept teeth and he was then visibly satisfied. Now we all know that remains of food sticking between the teeth can at times be very disturbing, but such a thorough, unpostponable cleansing of all the thirty-two teeth demands a more precise explanation.

Take a person of this type, with a vastly inflated notion of his ego, who at the same time has lofty ideals, and force upon him the vision of some quality he possesses that is an insult to that idealized ego and he will immediately contrive some way to cover it up as he would a spot on his garments or a speck of food on his teeth. If the weakness is so displeasing that he dare not even admit he is covering it, he will substitute something else in his effort to hide the real thing, and will spend vast portions of energy exhibiting the substitute.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. When a child tries to get your sympathy or that of other pupils through a trick, make sure that he does not succeed. You must be sure you know what his point is or you may be ignorantly rewarding him when you think you are not.

2. Be on the lookout for hidden causes when a child shows a peculiar lack of ability in some particular subject or in some phase of a subject. Remember, however, that a mental conflict is not the invariable cause of such inability.

3. Be sure not to grow hard in your search for tricks. Learn the medium between harshness and sympathy through your insight into the motives of your students.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What is conversion hysteria?
2. How does one learn to cover his conflicts by sickness?

3. Indicate how a severe illness may be the result of a desire for attention.

4. Show how a hysterical person may jeopardize his or her reputation to gain sympathy.

5. How should one treat a child who feigns sickness?

6. Show how such an inability as defective spelling may be the result of a mental conflict.

7. What are tics?

8. What are choreic movements?

9. How may choreic movements be distinguished from hysterical movements?

10. Describe the personality of the hysterical.

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SECTION IV

COMPROMISE WITH REALITY — SURRENDERING THE EGO

CHAPTER XIV

Anxiety

In previous sections we have considered forms of compromise which the individual may make with reality, all having the common characteristic that they tend to uphold the ego of the individual making them. Sometimes we have seen that the retention of the ego has been at a tremendous sacrifice, but in each case the individual has by some means fooled himself into thinking that he has won a victory. We will now consider cases where the individual capitulates either partially or completely. In most cases the individual may surrender in some particular point hoping, thereby, to save something from the wreck; in others, he simply gives up and vegetates because he can do nothing else; while in others, he may go so far as to end the struggle by suicide. A surrender in any particular is the first step toward total defeat, and for this reason the compromises that will be presented in this section are more serious than those outlined heretofore. While it must be confessed that the retention of one's personal respect at the expense of the sort of procedures we have described is not the best form of adjustment, it is also evident that any sort of method which does maintain one's personality is better than a response which surrenders and submits to a partial disintegration of the ego.

The first surrender reaction that we shall consider is fear. Fear arises only in situations where the individual is incapable of meeting the issue at hand. If one encounters a difficulty and rises to it he may become angry or excited in his defense,

but if such added stimulation to his reactions does not bring victory, fear comes in as the first signal of defeat. One is never afraid when he is conquering; he fears when he is being defeated; it is the preliminary to running away from battle.

Fear may present itself in two forms. The first is a general form known as anxiety in which the individual is afraid but cannot specify anything in particular which he fears. He worries at the slightest trifle and will express fear on occasions which would simply arouse a normal person to exert a little more energy. In the second form the individual expresses a fear of some specific situation or thing. The two are quite different in their significance and will be taken up separately.

Morbid anxiety is an extremely important feature for consideration in the study of peculiarities of behavior. It is very common, the distress that it causes is excessive, and it is hard to deal with because its real significance is usually hidden behind a superficial barrier which is meant to divert the attention of the outsider to irrelevant details and thus hide the real cause. It must be carefully distinguished from normal anxiety, such as anxiety to catch a train or to get one's lesson. Morbid anxiety is an anxiousness which is out of proportion to the environmental conditions and is seen as a dread, usually of a vague, indefinite sort. Asked to specify what is back of the worry the victims of the anxiety will give some vague response, such as that they have lost some money, that they are worried about their children, that they have been wicked individuals, that they are sick and cannot understand the significance of their symptoms, that they fear they may lose their positions, etc. It might easily be that external circumstances warrant a certain amount of uneasiness in connection with any of the excuses the persons may

offer, but in the case of mental conflict there is always an exaggeration of the anxiety feeling, an exaggeration that the patients will usually admit when questioned in this regard. They acknowledge that they may be overanxious but say that they cannot help being so. This, together with the fact that the anxiety may result from extremely trivial causes, suggests that the explanations given as to the external causes for anxiety cannot be accepted as the real causes; they can at the most be regarded merely as the occasions which make possible the expression of a feeling which has a deeper root. Hence, it is quite certain that morbid anxiety is the projection upon some external situation of a state of mind which results from an internal mental conflict. It has further been found that when one expresses a morbid fear it is the expression of an internal wish. The internal conflict comes from the antagonism between a hidden wish and a restriction which will not admit the gratification of that wish. In this situation, the individual is likely to be confronted with a fear that the wish will prove too strong for the restraint that he is able to bring to bear upon the wish; that is, the fear is the fear that the thing wished for may be accomplished and thus cause chagrin to the victim. This being the case, *a morbid anxiety must express the fear that something which is not clearly recognized, but which is wished for, will come to the front and gain gratification.*

It has been found, further, that the most usual vague, undifferentiated wish is connected with sexual impulses. If the wish is connected with anything else it is likely to be clearly formulated. The fact that it is vague gives rise to the implication that it is concerned with something the individual does not wish to confront or which he does not clearly understand. Thus we see in the young adolescent a vague restlessness, the forerunner of anxiety, which he does not

understand but which drives him to do a great many unexplainable things. The teacher cannot truly appreciate the erratic conduct of the adolescent without recognizing this fact.

It is in the adolescent stage that morbid fears are likely to originate. At this age the child does not clearly recognize sex impulses as such. Later, when they are recognized, any fear that comes in connection with them is likely to be defined and will express itself as a definite fear of some particular thing. The thing upon which the fear projects itself will, in this case, be a substitute for the real internal fear, but is definite because the internal fear in this case is definite. The anxiety comes only when the real nature of the internal wish and its fear counterpart are indefinite, and this indefiniteness arises from a failure to recognize sexual impulses clearly as such. The child has impulses which cannot follow a course which would lead to a natural outlet nor can he admit that the impulses are sexual. The energy thus aroused being deflected from its natural course manifests itself as morbid anxiety.

The following case quoted from Jones[1] shows this same development very clearly in the case of an adult:

> A lady, aged forty-six, who had married at the age of thirty-five, had borne two children, and had enjoyed a happy married life for seven years, suddenly lost her husband. . . . Her symptoms were as follows: In the region of the stomach was a sensation of discomfort and distention, with some nausea and flatulence. Accompanying this . . . was a feeling of extreme "nervousness" and agitation. Mentally there was great restless anxiety, with a sense of uncontrollable dread at some unknown, impending terror. Physically the attack was characterized by violent trembling of the whole body, especially of the limbs, hurried breathing, excited and irregular heart's action, and profuse cold sweating. She suffered continuously to some extent from these symptoms, being never quite free from them, but they were much worse during the attacks, which lasted for several hours, and occurred daily in the early morning; on this account she could never sleep after about two hours in the morning. No evidence of any organic gastric affection had ever

[1] Jones, Ernest — *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, 494–498; Wm. Wood and Co., 1918.

been made out, though diligent search had been made. . . . Careful treatment, chiefly directed toward the stomach condition, had been carried on throughout her illness but without avail. Weir Mitchell treatment (a rest cure) had only made her condition worse and had been given up after six weeks' attempt.

Under a display of shame and remorse as painful as I have ever witnessed, the patient confessed that from the age of twelve up to the present time she had lived through an almost continuous struggle against masturbation; she had kept her guilty secret from her mother, her husband, and every doctor who had treated her. With a partly correct intuition she interpreted her anxiety symptoms as a dread against once more succumbing to the temptation, which had naturally been greater since the cessation of marital relations. In fact the "nervous breakdown" eight months after her husband's death, had been preceded the month before by a temporary lapse in this direction.

Every individual, especially the child, from the age of adolescence up to the time of marriage, has the problem of restraining sexual impulses and using up sexual energy in other directions than the natural one. The teacher is the witness of these struggles in youth, and if she is to be of vital value to the pupils in this, their great struggle, she must understand the significance of certain signs which are almost sure to crop out. Youth should have abundant energy and this energy must have an outlet. The school can provide ready means for the expenditure of this energy in its various activities; but there are sure to be some who do not seem able to adjust their energy to these various expressions. The picture of anxiety is the sign to the teacher that the pupil who expresses it is not making the adjustment properly. That is, the anxiety is a frank and open confession of failure on the part of the one who shows it. By being morbidly anxious he is frankly saying: "I have a lot of pent-up energy in me which I do not understand and I am afraid that it will make me do something that will bring disgrace upon me." Such a person needs frank advice from one who understands the situation. It does no good to argue that the anxiety is groundless; no doubt the

sufferer will admit this readily enough. The true nature of it has to be shown, and then the individual can make a conscious fight to overcome the difficulty.

There are various circumstances which aggravate this difficulty and, therefore, should be pointed out very clearly. Anything which tends to arouse the sexual life of boys and girls and leave them in a state of partial gratification is a potential cause of anxiety symptoms. A certain amount of intersexual activity is certainly needed and advisable for young people. But, to promote unchaperoned parties in which the participants are permitted to indulge in practices which arouse them sexually makes the struggle for self-control more intense, and a certain number after any such experience are sure to confess by their symptoms that they are unable to adjust themselves to such a violent arousal of their sex life. It takes an open-minded administrator to get the proper balance in this matter. To take a prudish attitude simply makes the situation worse, because any attempt to keep the sexes strictly apart will only draw attention to the sex element in the relationships more violently than permitting freedom would do. The thing that is needed is a free and natural attitude. Cultivate this and you have done much toward the solution of the problem. Youths recognize the problem they have to face, and will welcome the assistance of elders who give evidence that they are eager to have the young people enjoy each others' company and that restraint is imposed only for the advantage of those who are restrained.

We have given only one case and in this have given only meagre details which may not prove to be very convincing, but the reader may be assured that enough cases of free-floating, general anxiety of the morbid sort have been analyzed to demonstrate without much doubt that all such cases depend

upon the partial arousal of the love life of an individual without an adequate outlet for the energy thus brought forth. What he is worrying about and what he fears is that his love impulses may prove too strong for him; he may be forced to gratify them, and he is convinced that any mode of gratification with which he is familiar is wrong. If he is convinced that the impulses are wrong, why should he not worry?

Now the cure is not immorality. Some, when the dilemma is explained, think that the only solution is immediate gratification. All the individual really needs is a clear vision of the whole subject so that he can see some possible outlet, which may be in the distant future, but which offers a definite solution. The socially approved outlet is to fall in love with some worthy individual and eventually marry. If the anxiety victim is talked with confidentially and is shown that he is fearing something which is noble, worthy, and perfectly controllable, and that there is a normal and approved outlet for him, there is no reason why he cannot be recovered from his anxiety symptoms.

It may, in closing this chapter, be well to emphasize what was mentioned in the beginning. The form of suffering experienced by the anxiety victim is the most exquisite form of torture imaginable. The onlooker does not begin to realize the depth of suffering involved. The patient covers it, he argues with himself, he diverts it from one thing to another in his attempt to be rid of it, but it persists and grows with the passing years until he sometimes succumbs and becomes a miserable wreck. There is no greater service that a teacher can perform for her students than to detect these cases in an early stage and straighten them out. Having helped one such case in its mild form, she may not realize the extent of service which she has performed; but, when she considers that she has possibly prevented an actual breakdown, she

can get a partial glimpse of the service performed. It does no good to tell adolescent boys or girls that worry is of no value; they know that. The only solution is in each case to find the real cause of the worry and then remove it.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Morbid anxiety among school children is a sign that there is need for some social hygiene.

2. Anxiety cannot be remedied by fighting it. Substitute healthful outlets and wholesome activities in which the sexes can mingle and the anxieties will disappear.

3. In general try to cultivate such a matter-of-fact wholesome attitude between the sexes that they thoroughly enjoy each others' company. If you hold them apart with all sorts of restrictions each glimpse of one of the opposite sex will suggest forbidden things.

4. The teacher who is inexperienced in dealing with developing adolescents or who feels timidity in discussing sex matters with her pupils who seem to need help, should endeavor to secure the coöperation of some physician of the finer type to help her with her boys and should seek, when possible, the help of a woman physician or trained nurse in dealing with her girls. A number of simply written, unsentimental children's books on sex are now to be obtained. A troubled child may be greatly helped by reading one of these, but the book should be carefully selected.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. In what circumstances does fear arise?
2. Distinguish between fear and anxiety.
3. What is morbid anxiety?
4. What is the cause of morbid anxiety?
5. How can anxiety be prevented?
6. What activities could be promoted to give an outlet to the energy that expresses itself in anxiety?

CHAPTER XV

Specific Fears

Normal fears are provoked by external conditions. Originally, the number of fear-producing situations was probably small; but, as the experiences of the individual multiply, more and more features are found to be connected with fear situations, and the fear is transferred from the original fear-producing situation to these other features whose presence is accidental. Thus, it is quite likely that one is not originally afraid of a flash of bright light but is afraid of loud sounds. The occurrence of thunder in connection with lightning is very likely to make a person afraid of the flash of light because of this simultaneous occurrence. Likewise, a child is not innately afraid of the dark; but a large number of children are afraid of the dark, because it forms an ideal situation for the action of other fear-producing shocks. One may have natural fears of a large number of objects, and the peculiarity of the fear may not be an indication that the fear is a morbid one, if the person has an adequate reason to fear the unusual thing.

Stanley Hall, some years ago, made a study of the sorts of things that people fear. Arranged in the order of frequency they are as follows: thunder and lightning, reptiles, strange persons, darkness, fire, death, domestic animals, disease, wild animals, water, ghosts, insects, rats and mice, robbers, high winds, dreams, cats and dogs, cyclones, drowning, solitude, birds, clouds and their forms, meteors, north-

ern lights, comets, fog, storms, eclipses, extreme hot weather, and extreme cold weather.

Fear of any of these things may have developed in a perfectly natural manner and such a natural cause should always be sought before any deeper significance is assigned to the fear. This is true even though the fear may, on the face of it, appear to be absurd. If, on the other hand, an individual has a definite fear which appears ridiculous and for which he can assign no adequate reason, some deeper significance must be sought. A warning needs to be interjected here against too ready acceptance of a person's explanation of why he fears a certain thing. Usually a reason is given, often it sounds plausible; but, unless there is evidence that the reason given is an actual one, search for deeper causes should not be abandoned.

In order to give the reader an idea of some of the queer fears that arise, it may be well to give some of the ways in which these are described by those who experience them. The following are taken from actual reports in the literature of the subject:

1. "The impulse to throw herself down is so intense that she must strain every muscle to get away, and must often call for immediate help."

2. "Almost faints to see others on high places."

3. "Could never go the shortest distance across lots, no matter how plainly she can see across, without getting confused and turned around."

4. "Cannot endure being shut in a closed carriage."

5. "To be washed always made me stiffen out, my eyes bulge, and I was almost convulsed with fear."

6. "As a girl I was always unhappy in exact proportion to the strength of the wind, and used to watch the movements of the boughs of the trees to estimate its intensity; a sudden or even gradual crescendo in the noise of the leaves still starts up my heart; I feared every light breeze would increase into a gale; every morning on waking my first thought is of the wind, and I often compare its intensity hour by hour; I have never experienced any really dangerous wind."

7. "Used to get dizzy and nauseated watching the moon run under the clouds."

8. "Must always make a tour of the house to see if there is a fire if she wakes at night."

9. "Used to fall into a panic at shadows, and would run out of breath to get away from one."

10. "Never takes up his morning paper without palpitation and nausea, fearing the gruesome things he is sure to see and must read."

11. "Woman of thirty-five has been bedridden for eight years. She mends steadily during cold weather, but sinks away during the season of thunder storms just in proportion as these are severe. Every peal of thunder makes her rigid like a frog drugged with strychnine."

12. "A woman suffers from the fear of being on the street alone. While she is at home she is comparatively, though not absolutely, free from anxiety. Also, she can go walking upon the street that leads from her home to her husband's office, and for a certain distance on some of the side streets, but outside of this very limited orbit she is afraid to venture unaccompanied. If she tries to do so, she is at once seized with a spasm of most agonizing fear, accompanied by increased heart beat, cold perspiration, dizziness, nausea, and faintness, and is tormented with the idea that she is about to have a stroke of apoplexy."

13. "A woman has a fear of dogs, thinking one may bite her and that she will have hydrophobia. She never leaves her house without wondering anxiously if she is going to meet a dog. If she sees one approaching, the typical panic ensues. Whenever possible she rides in cabs in order to be safe from the animals. If she goes walking with her husband she insists that he carry a heavy cane in order to protect her. The mere mention of dogs, particularly if anything is said about their going mad or biting anyone, makes her very nervous."

14. "Another has a fear of knives. If she sees a sharp knife, she becomes afraid that she may use it to injure herself or some other person. She cannot go into a butcher shop, a hardware store or any other place where she is likely to see knives or other sharp instruments exposed. She will not be left alone in her house until she is assured that the carving knife, scissors, and all such instruments are put away and locked up out of her reach. If she were ever left alone in a room with an open penknife lying on a table, she would have a panic at once."

The above fears are a few from vast numbers that can be found described by various writers or can be noted in people all about us should we take the trouble to hunt for them. In many cases the thing feared is actually at the root of the fear; in many it is the substitute for some other fear

that the individual is concealing. If a horse is afraid of a train, the way to cure him of his fear is to get him accustomed to the sight and sound of a train, to teach him that his fears are groundless and that the train will not cause him any injury. If a girl is afraid of a shadow the way to get her over the fear is to get her accustomed to the presence and appearance of shadows and to demonstrate to her that the shadow will not injure her. If, on the other hand, the fear of the shadow stands for a fear of something else, one cannot eradicate the fear of the shadow by showing her the harmlessness of a shadow. The shadow is a substitute for something else and the only way to eliminate the fear is to determine what the shadow stands for and then to eliminate the fear of the thing that lies behind the shadow and is the real cause of the fear. If the shadow suggests to her a man who is following her with intent to assault her, she will readily admit the harmlessness of the shadow but she cannot admit the harmlessness of the thing that the shadow suggests. The thing to deal with in such a case is the fear of the strange man — thus will the unreal fear of the shadow disappear.

The greatest enemy that any individual has is himself; and one's self is the thing most to be feared. No one on the outside plays any such vile tricks upon us as we do upon ourselves. It does not take us long to learn this lesson; and we soon learn to fear our own impulses and desires. Ages ago it was recognized that if one mastered himself he had conquered the universe. This being the case *we have a perfect right to expect when one is tormented with a peculiar fear that back of this fear lies a fear of himself.* He wants to live up to the heights that the ideals of his personality dictate, and this fear is a dread that in some particular he will not do this.

As much as he may outwardly try to blame any mistake upon evil companions or any other influence, he knows perfectly well that *the real reason why an individual makes a mistake is because he wants to do so.* A man may get drunk and blame it upon his friends; but if he did not want to drink, he would not do so, no matter how much they teased him. The inner desire reinforced by their temptations was too much. He might refrain if he kept away from their temptations even if he does have the desire; but he knows full well that, if he had no desire, their temptations would not be enough to make him drink. The desire, furthermore, is a constant companion while the outside temptations are spasmodic; for this reason the desire forms the most potent source of difficulty. If, then, a child has a fear of some particular thing, which cannot be abated by the ordinary methods that we use to eliminate fear of a harmless thing, the thing to do is to hunt for the thing that this fear stands for; and usually, the place we will find this is in the hidden impulses of an undesirable sort that the child is trying to repress and control.

Even though some of the fears mentioned above are peculiar they might be considered part of the life of a normal individual. When the fear becomes so dominant that it disrupts the person's whole life, it falls into the group of morbid fears that are known as *phobias.* Morbid fears are closely connected with morbid ideas that become fixed, which the individual may or may not admit to be foolish, but which no amount of reasoning can dispel. They are likewise often connected with compulsive acts — the individual must do some particular thing over and over again — he does not want to do it, it does him no good to do it, but he cannot help doing it. Fixed ideas, compulsive acts, and morbid fears all rest upon the same type of cause and are very likely to be mixed up together in the same individual.

Frink gives some very good illustrations of these morbid manifestations in patients:

1. A man killed a fly which annoyed him by buzzing about the room. Hardly had he done so when there came to him the thought, accompanied by an intense feeling of horror and fear: "My God, what if I should kill a person like that?" He was not conscious of ever having had a desire to kill anyone; he was not really in fear that he ever would kill anyone, but nevertheless the thought, "But wouldn't it be awful if I did?" stuck in his mind for months at a time and he was utterly unable to banish it.

2. A young married woman, who happened to be watching another woman who was seated at a window across the street, suddenly discovered that she could not get the thought of this other woman out of her mind. She had to think of her, she did not know why, but she could not stop it. These thoughts, accompanied by a sense of apprehension and depression, persisted for the greater part of the time for four years.

3. An intelligent young Jewish girl, who was herself not at all superstitious, was induced by a relative to consult a fortune teller in reference to a love affair. Shortly afterwards she was suddenly seized with a terrific fear that the fortune teller was exerting some sort of magical spell over her and that as a result she would go insane. She knew this was perfect nonsense, yet the fear continued to force itself upon her with remarkable intensity and she was absolutely powerless to drive it from her mind.

4. A young woman, whenever she uses the word "I" is tormented by the question, "Who is I?" To use or to hear the word "My" has a similar effect. "Who is My?" she has to ask herself. "My is not my body or I wouldn't say 'my mind.' Who or what then is it?" She felt continually impelled to ask other people these questions, and many have tried to assure her or convince her that they were unanswerable, but to no avail. "I've got to know!" she would say. "I must find out. I never can rest until I do." All the time she suffered from a tense anxious feeling which, it seemed to her, could be relieved only by her finding the answers she sought.

5. A boy in high school was supplied with some second-hand books. He began to doubt their accuracy; for, as they were not new, he thought they might be out of date, and what he read might not be the truth. Before long he would not read a book unless he could satisfy himself that it was new and the writer of it an authority. Even then he was assailed with doubts, for he felt uncertain as to whether he understood what he read. If, for example, he came across a word of which he was not sure of the exact meaning, he could not go on until he had looked up the word in the dictionary. But as likely as not in the definition of the word there would be some other word with which he was not entirely familiar and he would have to look that up, so that at times half an hour or more

would be taken up in reading a single page, and even then he would feel doubtful as to whether he had gotten the exact truth.

6. A young woman was impelled at frequent intervals to rip up her clothes and make them over again, feeling that she could improve their fit. Another was forced to eat bread in enormous quantities. Still another had to count ten before every contemplated action and then while carrying out the action she would have to tell herself what it was she was doing. Thus, if she were going out she would have to say: "Now I am putting on my hat; now I am opening the door; now I am going down the steps; now I am turning the corner," etc. Before beginning each of these actions she would have to count ten. In each of these latter cases the patient *had* to obey the impulse in question.

7. A young lady who was very fond of soup simply could not force herself to take a single spoonful when in company. She could fill the spoon, she could hold it poised in front of her as steadily as anybody without spilling a drop; but she could not put the spoon to her lips for fear that she might spill some of it. She never had spilled any as far as she could remember, but still she might, and so she was *forced* to refrain from eating soup.

One might go on with these indefinitely; but let me give one detailed illustration from Frink [1] in order to show the underlying cause of fears of this sort:

A young professional man, unmarried, began to suffer from self-reproaches which came on rather suddenly after a disappointment in love. The reproaches concerned themselves with most trivial matters, as a rule, sometimes one thing, sometimes another, yet he was reproaching himself about something practically all the time, and in a seemingly exaggerated manner. Thus one day he went into a store to buy a straw hat. He selected one that suited his fancy, put it on and left the store. Hardly was he outside the door when the thought came upon him, "You ought not to have bought that hat." Absurd as it may seem, the sense of having done wrong which he experienced was of very great intensity. He continued on his way, arguing with himself to the effect that his feeling was absurd, that he had done nothing wrong, yet all the while the sense of self-reproach remained. Finally, his distress was so great that he turned and began to retrace his steps toward the store, intending to exchange the hat for another one. On the way back he was assailed with new doubts, for he kept thinking: "Maybe it would be better if I kept this hat. Maybe I am making a mistake if I take it back." By the time he had reached the store, he had decided that it would be better to keep the hat, so he started for home again with his purchase still on his head. Before he had gone very far, the first sense of guilt had again assailed him and finally he did return to the store and,

[1] Frink, H. W. — *Morbid Fears and Compulsions*, 286–290; Moffat, Yard & Co., 1918.

exchanging the hat for another one, felt considerably, if not entirely, relieved. He went through a similar performance on another occasion when he had gone to his bank to get a new check book. No sooner had he received the book than he felt he ought not to have it, that he must take it back, that he was doing a great wrong in delaying an instant. On still another occasion, a friend suggested to him that he ought to join a certain regiment. Without thinking of the matter at all seriously, he replied: "Well, perhaps I will join before long." Soon after leaving his friend the idea suddenly seized him: "You ought never to have said that. You shouldn't join the regiment." And he could get no rest until he had gotten into communication with his friend and taken back his words. Having done so, however, he still felt dissatisfied, and kept thinking: "Maybe it would be better if I did join. Maybe I should not have said I wouldn't, etc." A day or two later, having berated himself continually in the meantime, he called up his friend and told him he had decided to join after all, and then immediately the first set of reproaches returned, so that still later he had to retract this declaration, etc.

This man's peculiar symptoms are by no means inexplicable, if we take into account certain elements of his mental life that were not clearly before his consciousness. He had, as was said, been disappointed in love. The situation and circumstances of the disappointment were such as to give rise to a considerable degree of resentment on his part toward not only the young lady herself, but toward his family, his father in particular. The hostility to his father was really a revival of earlier hostilities dating from his childhood, which related to interference and punishment but which, for the most part, were quite fully repressed and withheld from consciousness.

The symptoms really express a cruel trend which this young man possessed, and viewed in this light they appear relatively simple. The straw hat which he selected in the store had, at the back of the sweat band inside the crown, a tiny bow of red ribbon. This fact he perceived as he examined the hat, without its really arresting his conscious attention. But the important thing was that the tiny red bow looked, as he glanced at it, not unlike a small splotch of blood. Thus, for him to wear that hat was, in a way, *to have blood upon his head.* This was the reason he reproached himself. For if he had put into action the hostile impulses he was repressing, he would in fact have had blood upon his head; he would have murdered someone.

The incident of the check book depends upon a similar association of ideas. The one he first received at the bank had a bright red cover, thus suggesting blood, and to keep it suggested *having blood upon his hands.* When he had taken it back and exchanged it for a yellow one, he felt considerably relieved.

In the same way the idea of joining the regiment had become connected with the repressed murderous trend, for there had passed through his mind the thought: "Suppose I join the regiment and there is a strike or a riot, for which the militia are called out. *Then I might kill someone.*"

His compulsive vacillation is thus seen to have had its origin in two opposed and displaced trends. The one which led him to reproach himself for having purchased the hat, received the check book, and promised to join the regiment was derived from his conscious, ethical, social, and affectionate self. The other consisted of primitive, savage, asocial impulses, inhibited very naturally from direct expression, but nevertheless not kept entirely subdued by repression.

As a very small boy this patient was very unruly, jealous, and subject to the most violent fits of anger and rage. He had also shown at times a certain tendency to be cruel to other children and to animals. His brother, of whom he was jealous at times, he had often wished dead, and on one occasion in a fit of anger nearly killed him.

These early tendencies he had tried to overcome by emphasizing characteristics of an entirely different nature; outwardly he had succeeded. He was quite "exceptionally moral in his ordinary behavior. He was a most dutiful son, devoted to his parents in a very marked degree. He was to all appearances good-tempered, conscientious to a fault, and inclined more to gentleness and submissiveness than to aggression and pugnacity."[1]

By a conscious effort he had thus successfully restrained the childish impulses to violence until he met with the disappointment in his love affair. This brought back the tendencies to cruelty and gave rise to the symptoms that we have given above. These fears and the consequent debates that arose in his mind over them are therefore a confession that he had failed to repress and become master of the tendency to cruelty. He had not failed absolutely because he still maintained his moral behavior; but he had failed in his desire to escape the wish to kill. He knew that he would not kill his brother, father, or sweetheart, and it was not this that he was fighting. He was horrified that he should have the least desire to do such a thing; *the desire was the thing he was fighting and the fear that he manifested was a confession that he had failed to conquer it;* just as truly as when a child trembles at

[1] *Ibid.* 290.

thunder the child is confessing that this terrible noise is something over which he has no power; all he can do is to sit and tremble and take any consequences that may happen to him from this unavoidable situation.

In Chapter VI we have shown the mechanism (emotional displacement) by which fears become attached to trivial and foolish objects. In this chapter we have enumerated a number of the forms fears may take and have shown the meaning of some of these. The task of the teacher, when she meets fears of this sort, is to discover what is the real cause of each fear. If the cause that the child gives is the real cause, the fear will yield to relatively simple correction methods. If the fear persists in spite of all efforts to the contrary, and if in addition the object feared is inadequate as a cause, then the teacher should not accept the story of the child, but try to find what is back of it. Nor should the teacher try to reason in her own mind to the real cause. The same expressed fear, such as a fear of shadows, might stand for any number of things. The only way to discover the latent background is to learn what the manifest fear is related to in the mind of the child. The child alone can give you this information and you must get the child into an attitude where he will tell you all that is related to the manifest object of the fear before you can hope to get it. If the child can reach the point where he will talk freely about this manifest fear-object he will soon be able to see the latent fear that he has been covering.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. When a child expresses a fear he does not want sympathy from the teacher, he wants deliverance from the fear.

2. If the fear seems foolish it does no good to tell the child so. He already knows it. Help him find the latent cause of the fear and the thing will not then appear foolish. Remember, there are no really fool-

ish fears. A fear is always a serious and painful affair and there is always a serious reason for a fear.

3. Do not try to point out the specific background of a fear from your own deductions or from analogy with any other case. If you dig out the real fear the child will recognize it and the fear will disappear. As long as the fear persists you may know that you have not discovered the cause.

4. You cannot dispel an abnormal fear by reason. It is a waste of time to try.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Give the causal background of normal fears.
2. Enumerate some of the things that people fear.
3. How do you cure a normal fear?
4. What is the cause of morbid fears?
5. How are compulsive acts and morbid ideas related to morbid fears?
6. Describe some morbid fears.
7. Show how the latent fear disguises itself.
8. How can one discover the real cause of a fear?

CHAPTER XVI

Acknowledgment of Failure

The acknowledgment that one has failed in some measure may be of two sorts: either a direct acknowledgment or an indirect one.

It is very hard to acknowledge to ourselves and still harder to admit to others that we have failed in any particular. This difficulty becomes more pronounced as we value success in the thing attempted. For this reason, when we hear one openly and freely acknowledging that he has tried some particular thing and has failed we can be fairly sure that this acknowledgment is a substitute. He has failed in something that he would not admit for the world and so he hides this by informing everybody he meets that he has failed in something that is less obnoxious to him. If the confession that he is making is the real thing, he would not be spreading it broadcast; but he would save it for a few individuals in whom he had some confidence. For this reason, one has to be very careful in attributing to the first confession that a person makes the cause for any mental trouble that may be present.

We are all prone to make this mistake, and it is very important that the novice in the study of mental disturbances should be warned against it. If a person has some mental difficulty and we can learn in any way, either by confession or by other evidence, of any immoral practice of this patient, we are prone to infer that this is the cause of the trouble. The immoral practice may be one of the symptoms, a result

of some deeper cause. If we are to get a proper understanding of mental struggles we must get away from the notion that it must be the result of some sin, and, hence, that if any sinful practice is discovered it is the cause. For instance, it often happens that a man who is violently insane will masturbate shamelessly. From this fact an outsider may conclude that the man's insanity is the result of this practice; such misinformation has become quite current among people in general, and has furnished charlatans an opportunity to frighten young people. As has been pointed out, many mental struggles have a sexual background in that the patient has failed to make an adequate sexual adjustment; but this does not mean that the patient has been immoral, or if he has been immoral that the immorality is the cause of the mental trouble. It often happens that the immorality has simply come in an effort to make a proper adjustment; it is simply evidence that the person has had a struggle. It is not causal. Everyone who deals with mental cases knows that, if a patient comes to him and almost immediately blurts out that he has been subject to some immoral practice, implying or stating that he thinks that this is probably the cause of the trouble, this is not the cause, it is merely one symptom. If the acknowledged fact were the cause it would not be so readily recognized and confessed by the patient.

It is very interesting to study how free acknowledgment of failure in some particular may cover up something of an entirely different sort. A young girl who had been very exemplary in her conduct suddenly began to rave against the injustices of modern society, resenting the double standard, and insisting that our whole ethical system was wrong, and that women especially were the subjects of gross injustices. She claimed that she had a perfect right to do anything that men could do, and as evidence that she was no longer subject

to social conventions she began to smoke. Now, of course, there is no reason that does not apply to men as well why a woman should not smoke if she wants to do so; but it was evident that smoking meant a great deal to this girl, as it does to many women. It stood for a breaking away from all convention; a thing that she wanted tremendously to do, but did not dare to do. Her attempt at nonchalance while going through the smoking process was almost ludicrous. A man or woman who smokes for pleasure will light up and then talk about various things of interest. While this girl smoked she talked about nothing else but smoking or about breaking away from conventions. Her smoking was really a ceremonial. Her desire to smoke, or the fact that she had broken through conventions and did smoke was not causal; it was a substitute for the non-conventional thing she really wanted to do and was, therefore, a symptom. As it was a symptom, it was simply a warning to the observer to look for the real cause. This was very clear in this case.

This girl had fallen in love with a married man with four children. She wanted the man to get a divorce and marry her but he refused on the ground that he had nothing against his wife. This meant that the girl's love for him had to be repudiated or acknowledged by her to herself as an unsocial and sinful thing. Neither of these could she do, so she confessed that she had failed to adapt herself to society as it existed. But she would not acknowledge this failure directly. She would not tell anybody that she loved a man society would not permit her to possess; this was too painful a situation for her to make public. She did acknowledge that she had failed to live up to the strictest requirements for female society, however, and began to smoke. This trivial shortcoming she likewise defended as an evident rebellion against the undue severity of the restraints that life places on woman.

The recognition of trivial failures is almost sure to come before any acknowledgment of failures of a more serious sort and probably serves a very good purpose in sustaining the ego; for when one is forced to face the fact that he has failed in all the serious affairs of life he has nothing left for which to live. Death is all that is left for him; unless he can make some sort of compromise adjustment.

What saves this situation is that no one ever fails absolutely. He may not be enabled to live up to the ideals of life that he has established; but such failure does not mean that all his ideals are shattered, and one can always flee from one defeat to some other stronghold. To be sure some persons fail in so many things that they take their lives, but as is well known, this proportion is very small; and usually when one goes on living and develops a broader outlook the failure that has assailed him is not so ominous as it seemed before attempts at adjustment were tried. For this reason it seems that candid facing of situations is better than unconscious compromises or deceiving one's self. Suicide is more often the result of failure to see facts and situations as they are, than of total failure of the individual. Blinding ourselves to some set of facts is likely to leave our vision distorted, and what appears a trivial error to others may look like absolute failure to us. Candor is not so likely to lead to suicide as is self-deception.

This substitution of a new line of activity for one in which we acknowledge failure is an important part of mental adjustment. It is the alternative for one of the compromises which lead to abnormal behavior of the types already described. If one's difficulty is clearly recognized and it is candidly admitted that one desires to have or to do something which is out of the question, one can then choose the substitute which most appeals to him in place of the denied activity. These substitutions are commonly known as *sublimations.*

This word comes from *sub* meaning *below* and *limen* meaning *threshold*. It means that one thing is placed beneath the threshold and comes to expression only in a different or disguised form. A vast number of life's activities are sublimations of this sort and often come without the conscious effort of the person concerned. If a substitute of this sort is adopted unconsciously the individual has made a good adjustment and there is no reason why he should be reproached or ridiculed because he may not understand its nature. But one can always make a better sublimation if he is conscious of what he is doing; so, if the teacher can direct the energy of the child into proper outlets and at the same time let him see what is going on in his mental life, the child will develop into a stronger adult than if he makes these sublimations blindly.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the activities which one might adopt to replace some denied pleasure. They are as numerous and complex as life itself. The one who openly avers that all his motives are recognized, that he understands himself thoroughly, is sure to be doing numerous things for reasons that he does not understand. But, even though one need not know the ultimate motive for every act he performs, it is necessary for a well-balanced life to understand the mechanism of this transfer so that if one does something peculiar he can be on the alert to ascertain what lies behind such conduct.

Religion serves as one of the best lines of activity for the expression of ungratified desires. A child up to the age of adolescence gets along very well without any vivid religious experience. At adolescence his heterosexual tendencies begin to develop and he meets with social blocks in connection with these developments. To divert part of his love life to the adoration of a supreme being serves as a fine outlet for

the ungratified portion of his love life and tides the youth over this most difficult period in his life. Other crises may lead to the same sort of substitution. Failure in winning a life partner, disappointment in marriage, failure in business, death of relatives, or social or professional failures may all find shelter in religious expression. Even when an individual comes to old age with the realization that his whole life has been a failure, when everything he has tried has gone wrong, religion still provides a hope that beyond this life lies a future life where one will be rid of the imperfections which here retarded his progress and blocked every attempted expression. Thus, from adolescence, when life's storms first become turbulent, until old age, religion provides a substitute for all disappointments from the mildest to the most keen.

Another fine outlet for unfulfilled desires is social service. This branches out in all sorts of directions and gives rise to varied types of opportunity for expression, in some directions even more diversified than religion. Oftentimes a combination of religion and social service furnishes the best outlet. Women who have failed to marry, or having married, have failed to give birth to children, may substitute social work in maternity hospitals or orphanages for the disappointments suffered.

Athletics is one of the best lines of activity to be emphasized in adolescent life. This provides not only a mental outlet but gives an opportunity for bubbling youth to work off some of its surplus physical energy. The adolescent boy or girl who for some reason or other seems to have an unusually strong libido can do no better than to engage in active sports. Not only does this divert the physical energy toward other things than sex, but gives the child a glow and warmth that prove to be a fine substitute. It is part of the function of teachers to demand that the pupils get plenty of healthful

exercise. A vast number of symptoms can be "worked off" in the gymnasium; and if the teacher sees some of the danger signals that we have enumerated and is at a total loss what to do, she can make no mistake by getting the child into some active gymnasium work, or if there is no gymnasium, into some sort of outdoor sport.

Poetry, art, and drama are substitutes which give a good outlet for the creative impulse. The artist can escape the crass vulgarities of life by hiding them under the beautiful. By means of the drama one can substitute for an exhibitionistic tendency a form of self-display which is not only gratifying to himself but highly valuable to the spectator. Poetry is an admirable vehicle for the expression of one's innermost life. Not only do these substitutes give the individual who adopts them a highly socialized form of expression for unfulfilled desires, they likewise add to the general social wealth and those who are not capable of producing are at least able to adopt as substitutes the productions of others.

Science, business, professional life, or any activity may serve to sublimate repressed need. Oftentimes the vocation that one chooses serves this very purpose, and hence this factor should be strongly considered in advising a young person as to his future work. If a vocation has been selected which does not provide such an outlet, then the person can often find an outlet in an avocation, some interest separate from the one which has been selected as a means of livelihood. Thus, we find prominent business men spending their spare time tinkering with automobiles, raising vegetables in back yards, or conducting amateur photograph studios. These men will express the keenest delight over the most trivial successes in these lines and oftentimes fail to see why their pleasure is so keen.

Vocational guidance based on ability alone will always be subject to the drawback that it does not consider emotional outlets for buried mental conflicts. One may have the intelligence to do a certain type of work, but if that work is constantly bringing to the foreground some mental disturbance, the individual will loathe his work and never make a success of it.

The vocational guidance worker, if he is to do his work satisfactorily, must know the abnormal side of human nature, be able to interpret minor symptoms, and be able to use the information he derives from such observation in the direction of the activities of those who apply to him for advice. *Success is not merely a matter of ability*, as everyone knows; but many fail to realize that *success comes largely as the result of the fact that a certain type of work provides an adequate outlet for otherwise unsocial or ungratified social tendencies.* Many a successful scientist is successful because his "peeping" propensity can get expression in scientific curiosity; many a successful orator is so because this oratory is a social substitute for exhibitionism or a compensation for a feeling of inferiority; a surgeon is sometimes successful because surgery provides a harmless and useful outlet for his tendency toward cruelty; a teacher loves her teaching because it gives an outlet for an ungratified mother impulse; a business man finds in business competition a successful outlet for a fighting propensity; one who has an inferiority feeling can find an adequate compensation in any executive position where he can dictate to his fellows; either man or woman may get in club life an adequate outlet for a homosexual tendency. Thus we might go through the entire list of life's vocations and interests and determine what conflicts each may eliminate or diminish; then we could use this outline in our vocational guidance program. Certainly a program which considers these

facts is going to be more successful than one that blithely ignores the underlying emotional drives of life.

One does not need to make a complete analysis of the life of the youth who is in need of guidance in order to give valuable advice. One can watch the reactions of the child in different situations designed to bring out the different underlying factors, and on this basis determine what is working in his mind. If a test situation is not adequate, certainly a teacher who observes the child day after day can gather enough information to make a judgment. We urge here, what we stated at the beginning, that the teacher get away from a blind attitude toward the peculiarities of her students, in order that she may put a knowledge of these to good use in guiding the children she has in her charge.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Never let a child fail completely. If he falls teach him to fall forward, to jump up and to go on. Never emphasize the permanent effects of a mistake.

2. Teach a child to face his errors but teach him to do it in a way that will prevent a recurrence.

3. When a child spontaneously confesses something with no obvious motive for the confession, look for a more serious failure than that implied in the confession. A spontaneous, apparently unmotivated confession indicates that the child needs your help.

4. Do not prod a child to confess his shortcomings. Adjustment does not mean a display of all one's weaknesses to others; it means insight. One does not need to expose himself to get insight.

5. Never violate the confidence of a child, especially if he has made a confession to you. If, of his own volition, he confesses a shortcoming, do not punish him for the thing that he has confessed; some form of reparation may be made in cases where the child can see that justice requires this.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. How may one hide failure by acknowledgment?

2. Show how a confession of a superficial shortcoming may be used to cover up a more serious shortcoming.

3. What danger arises from thinking that the cause of mental trouble is immorality?

4. What is the value of substituting trivial failures for more serious ones?

5. Show how frankness is less likely to lead to suicide than attempts at self-deceit.

6. How can one make up for failure by substitution?

7. Discuss religion as a sublimation.

8. What particular advantages have athletics as a sublimation?

9. Discuss other forms of sublimation.

10. How can an understanding of mental adjustments be used in vocational guidance?

SECTION V

INTELLECTUAL INCAPABILITY OF APPRECIATING REALITY

CHAPTER XVII

Intelligence and Mental Conflicts

Since the advent of mental testing there has been a strong tendency to look to intelligence or its lack in the search for the cause for all sorts of mental trouble. Surveys have been made of the inmates of prisons, reform schools, homes for delinquent women, and juvenile court cases, and the results compared with the performance of normal individuals on these same tests. Because the usual thing has been for these special groups to average lower in the tests than the normal groups, the conclusion has been advanced that feeble-mindedness is in a large measure accountable for behavior deviations. In spite of the statements made in connection with these studies, a large group of psychologists have long felt that this factor has been overemphasized. To be sure those who are caught in unsocial acts and are confined in institutions are of lower mental grade than those outside, but the low grade intelligence has been a factor in their detection. If they had been a little shrewder, they might have done the same acts that brought upon them the punishment they are undergoing, but they might also have escaped.

It is highly probable that there are many criminals and unsocial individuals outside these institutions. For this reason it is not legitimate to conclude that the factor which made those incarcerated easily caught — namely, their lack of intelligence — is in the same way responsible for their unsocial acts. Furthermore, there are many feeble-minded

individuals who are not unsocial. Feeble-mindedness alone will not make a criminal; but feeble-mindedness plus some other trait may. Indeed, the tendency toward criminality may be very slight; but, when accentuated by feeble-mindedness, may give rise to criminality much more easily than an equal criminal tendency with normal intelligence. It is probably safe to conclude that feeble-mindedness is important in the production of unsocial conduct, but one must beware of the tendency to overemphasize this factor.

In order to determine what chance a feeble-minded person has of making his way in society, an investigation was conducted in Cincinnati which included about two hundred cases who in their school careers had been in classes for mental defectives. These children had been given absolutely no supervision for three years after leaving school. It was then decided to make a study relative to their positions in society. Of the group more than half were gainfully employed in industry, were in the army or navy, or were working for relatives. Forty-three per cent were in ordinary industrial occupations, being factory workers, machinists, day-laborers, drivers, structural iron workers, helpers on wagons, painters, news venders, farmers, errand boys, and salesmen. The average wage of this group was somewhere between ten and fifteen dollars a week. That these workers are not all of the transient type is shown by the fact that nearly sixty per cent of them have been in one position more than a year, forty per cent have had their positions for more than two years, and nearly a fourth of them have had their positions for three years or more. Industry can use many individuals that do not have superior intelligence to do the more humble tasks, and this survey has shown that in a great many instances the mentally defective can fit into these positions very well.

This survey also shows that feeble-mindedness is a strong contributing cause of delinquency and crime. About a fourth of the unsupervised feeble-minded have criminal court records; but the criminal records do not tell the whole story. More than half of the feeble-minded women have records of sex delinquency; thirty-eight per cent of the males have records of stealing. These are the major offenses found. Other offenses with the females, in order of their frequency, are lying, truancy, stealing, and vagrancy; with the men, they are truancy, fighting, sex-perversions, lying, and vagrancy. As a result of an elaborate study of these cases the conclusion is reached that feeble-mindedness is not the only cause of these crimes. A man is never criminal solely because he is feeble-minded, although his lack of intelligence may make him unable to resist the temptation to do unsocial acts. Cincinnati investigators conclude that low intelligence is simply a weakening factor which gives the real cause an opportunity to work.

While feeble-mindedness may be the weakening factor that makes its possessor an easy victim to temptation to do unsocial acts, the situation is just the reverse when it comes to mental conflicts; *a person of low intelligence is less likely to have a mental conflict than is a person of high intelligence.* The conflict is a conflict between social restraints and the natural or acquired desires of a person. One may become unsocial or criminal because the restraints of society are not sufficient, or because he is unable to appreciate the situation. A dog can be made as social as a human being only if he is guarded on every side. He cannot be expected to respect the rights of others; neither can a low-grade feeble-minded individual. The conflict between the feeble-minded and society is an open conflict of forces and leads to no mental conflict. It is a battle between his impulses and society.

If the impulses are stronger, the individual becomes criminal or unsocial. If the restraints of society are sufficient, his conduct is moral.

A mental conflict, on the other hand, must be between ideals and reality. The one who has the mental conflict may be highly moral. His social conduct may be exemplary, yet he may have a violent struggle between the ideals that he has established and his impulses to act counter to these ideals. The outward restraints do not seem too rigid to such a person; he is not disturbed because of objective barriers to his desires — such barriers are a strengthening element to him and he desires to have them made more and more severe. The thing that disturbs him is the incompatibility of his desires and ideals.

A mental conflict is purely an intellectual process and requires some intelligence. The formulation of ideals requires manipulation of ideas, and the recognition that these ideals run counter to primitive impulses is also an intellectual process. Hence, *one who is defective in intellect is likely to ignore such a conflict because he cannot perform the intellectual functions that it presupposes.* Mental conflicts increase in severity with the advancement of intelligence and with the progress of society. As society becomes more complex the ideals of life become more complex and more exacting and a greater amount of intelligence is required to appreciate and manipulate all the factors involved. Statistics have shown that there is a relation between the amount of mental disorders and intelligence. Where the intelligence of a group is lower there is less mental maladjustment than where there is greater intelligence.

The measurement of intelligence of any person who shows signs of a mental conflict must, for the reasons given, be very important. Our institutions are filled with feeble-minded

persons who have made a tremendous social wreck of their lives but who have had not the slightest signs of mental upset as a result. This shows lack of insight, but it is quite different from the lack of insight of a highly intelligent person. Ideals of a low-grade person relate solely to what he is forced to do in order to escape punishment; and his notion of rightness or wrongness is determined solely by the reaction of other persons toward his various acts.

A little boy came home from school one day and told his father that he had used an "awful bad" word in school that day and that the teacher became very "mad" about it. He said that he had never seen her so "mad," that she scolded for a long, long time about it, and threatened terrible punishment if he should ever use it again. The father asked the boy what the word was, but for a long time the boy could not be induced to repeat it; he said that it was too bad to repeat, he could not do it after all the teacher had said. Finally, the father induced the boy to whisper this monstrous expression in his ear, and with great trepidation the boy said in a hushed whisper, "It was — 'I don't care.'" Because of her attitude this teacher had taught the boy that "I don't care" was a horrible thing to say. We recognize this as a perfectly logical interpretation of the teacher's attitude; but it implies that the boy, because of immaturity, did not use any judgment of his own in estimating the enormity of the thing he had done.

The feeble-minded never get above this method of gauging their actions and their ideals are as changeable in accordance with the whims of others as are those of this boy. A mental conflict can only come when the ideals of the ego become somewhat stabilized and then something tends to interfere with them. The beginning of stabilized ideals marks the beginning of mental adjustment with its possibility of error. The childhood of a normal individual is the period when

the different standards are evaluated and integrated so that when he comes to adolescence and maturity his ideals become more and more fixed. Then, after having established certain standards, he learns that in himself are tendencies which make it extremely hard or impossible to maintain these ideals, and so he begins the inevitable mental battle that comes from the clash of two antagonistic stabilized forces.

A point that should be emphasized here is that the evaluation of an individual's mentality by means of the standard tests is practically impossible when he is suffering from a mental breakdown. This is easily understood in extreme cases. One would not attempt to give an intelligence test to a person suffering from a delirium, or to a person wildly insane; but these conditions are extremes of states that might be present in mild form in individuals who did not need to be under the care of a physician or confined in an institution. Anyone who gives mental tests must be on the lookout for the presence of mental conflicts which disturb the subject tested. Furthermore, the administration of such a test as the Binet test is an admirable means to detect symptoms of mental conflict provided one is aware of the significance of different types of conduct. In giving these tests to patients in psychopathic hospitals it often happens that the material in the tests suggests something to the patient which calls forth some feature of his trouble and he will, of course, immediately react to it. These reactions should not be ignored but should be followed up to determine, if possible, their significance. If a patient is suffering from a mental disturbance it is more important to dig into this than it is to get an intelligence rating, especially if the patient manifests a desire to unburden to the examiner. It is important in the administration of tests to keep conditions uniform if results are to be accepted as valid; but too many examiners interpret this caution as

authority to ignore or restrain any tendency on the part of the patient to divulge the thing that is uppermost in his mind and is causing him the most disturbance. To silence a patient at such a time may apparently be keeping conditions uniform, but in reality it is placing such a patient under an extreme handicap. The fact that he breaks out with statements of his trouble on the least occasion shows that this is what he is thinking about, and no matter how much the examiner may think he is keeping conditions uniform, he certainly is not getting coöperation if the patient is concentrated on his trouble and is giving only casual attention to the test questions. It must be clearly borne in mind that coöperation of the subject is one of the conditions of giving the test. No matter how uniform outward conditions may be, a variation in this one condition is enough to nullify results.

Failure in an intelligence test or in parts of the test may mean other things than lack of intelligence. For instance, many of the judgment errors of individuals suffering from mental trouble appear on the surface as lack of intelligence. Yet these same individuals in fields not connected with their delusional ideas show not the slightest error in judgment. Some of the Binet tests involve judgment, and it is quite conceivable that an error in such a test might be due to some underlying conflict. As an illustration, a sixteen-year-old girl, a patient, was once given the fourteen-year problem-of-fact test: "My neighbor has been having queer visitors. First a doctor came to his house, then a lawyer, then a minister. What do you think happened there?" The girl flushed slightly and answered quickly, "I do not know." It was quite evident that she thought of an answer but would not tell what she had thought. No amount of coaxing would elicit an answer although she responded to other questions of this same intelligence level readily enough. All that the ordinary exam-

iner will think of in such a case is whether or not to give credit for such a response. Credit in the intelligence is not nearly as important as studying the conflict which led to such a reaction. The child needs sympathetic help and advice and if the examiner has not time to give it he should endeavor to see that another qualified person does so. This is where the value of an individual intelligence examination comes in. Group tests will give as accurate a rating of intelligence as an individual examination, providing you secure the proper attitude and coöperation of the subject who is taking the test. When a poor score is made in the group intelligence test the individual examination is given to determine whether it is really a lack of intelligence, a lack of interest, stubbornness, or some other factor that caused the low group score. That is, the individual examination should be rather a search for the reasons why the subject made a poor showing in the group test than merely a corroboration of the group test [1] results.

What the examiner needs to do is constantly to ask himself questions such as the following: When the patient does not give attention to the questions of the test is it because he does not have enough intelligence to do so or is it because his attention is wrapped up in something else? When the patient lacks judgment is this a defect of mental ability or is it the effect of a mental conflict? If it takes an unduly long time for him to respond, is it because the problem is difficult or because he is distracted by other troublous thoughts? If his memory is apparently poor is it that he cannot remember or that his inner conflicts have made him try to forget? If all the examiner is going to do is to study answers he had better

[1] A very reliable group test that can be administered by any teacher is the *Morgan Mental Test*, published by the Clio Press, Iowa City, Iowa. The most widely used individual intelligence test is the *Stanford Revision of the Binet Test*, published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. The *Herring Revision of the Binet Test* is easy of administration but is not so currently used as the *Stanford Revision*.

adhere to group tests; if he is going to study individuals as they answer, then he can give individual tests to advantage.

Furthermore, the treatment accorded should be quite different depending on whether or not the person has low intelligence. We have said that when a person has a mental conflict the thing to do is to analyze it and, having found its cause, to enable the person to make a new and more satisfactory adjustment. When the feeble-minded person has a mental conflict this method will not work. It is very often easy to determine the cause of a conflict in such cases; but, having found it, the person has not the mental ability to meet the situation. The feeble-minded are influenced by authority; and often the elements that are in conflict have been learned from the authoritative dictates of a more intelligent person. To try to readjust such beliefs by reason is hopeless; the only thing that can be done is to teach something more desirable or more rational by the dictates of an even greater authority. If the one who discovers the trouble with such a person has not the requisite authority, he should get some one who has the confidence and respect of the patient to administer the proper teachings.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. Beware of the temptation to explain everything peculiar in a child on the basis of intelligence tests.

2. The underlying conflicts are likely to be milder as one descends in the intelligence scale.

3. Modify your methods of dealing with mental troubles according to the intelligence of the child. With those on the lower end of the scale use authority; with those on the upper end use reason; use a proportionate amount of both for individuals between the two extremes.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What is the relation of feeble-mindedness and delinquency?
2. Can a feeble-minded person adapt himself to society?
3. How is feeble-mindedness related to mental conflicts?

4. Why is it important to ascertain the intelligence of a person who shows signs of a mental conflict?

5. How can a feeble-minded person be taught to be social?

6. How should the teaching of morality differ with the intelligence of the child?

7. How may mental conflicts affect test scores?

8. What is the value of an individual examination in discerning the presence of maladjustments?

9. Show the importance of coöperation in giving a mental test.

10. How does the intelligence of the child modify the method to be used in adjusting his conflict?

CHAPTER XVIII

Defense Reactions of the High-Grade Feeble-minded or Low-Grade Normal

The high-grade feeble-minded or the low-grade normal cases, those at or near the borderline, are much more difficult to deal with than are the easily recognized feeble-minded cases. These borderline cases are not severely enough retarded to be clearly selected as feeble-minded and are usually regarded as normal. Since they are normal they are supposed to possess judgment, discretion, and free-will to carry out the dictates of society, and are judged accordingly when their conduct is not up to the social standard. Society is prone to regard the separating line as a sharp one, and having determined whether a person falls on the normal or feeble-minded side, it proceeds to treat him in the manner appropriate to that group. Hence, people bring children to a clinic and want to know whether they are normal; they do not seem to care in what part of the normal or retarded group they may fall — if they are normal, they are normal — if they are feeble-minded they are feeble-minded — and that settles the issue. The middle or borderline group deserves special consideration for just this reason, as well as on the ground that certain types of defense reactions are more or less closely confined to this group.

It must be remembered that the borderline cases find adaptation to social conditions especially trying. Even the most intelligent person must admit that social ethics are not abso-

lutely logical and consistent. We can all select instances where obviously unfair results come about and innocent individuals suffer. Perplexing as these things are, they become doubly so to the borderline case. He is not defective enough to overlook the issue and he is not intellectual enough to build his own philosophy of life. He may use any or all of the mechanisms described in previous chapters, but is often very naïve in doing so. In addition to these he is apt to use any one or any combination of the three reactions to be described in this chapter.

1. *The first method is the excessive display of uncontrolled activity.* This same sort of thing may occur in normal cases, but in the high-grade feeble-minded or dull normal individual it takes peculiar form. He uses it as a "bluff." The best illustration that the writer ever saw of this, came in connection with an army intelligence examination. An examiner (the writer) was giving the group examination to some recruits and was attracted by a young fellow on the front row. When instructions were being given this lad looked straight at the examiner as though keenly alert to every syllable he was uttering. When the signal was given to work he literally jumped at the page in his zeal to get a good score. Seemingly, he kept ahead of most of the others in the amount of material finished. The examiner had a very keen memory of this lad and his work because of his striking zeal, energy, and rapt attention to the work at hand. A few days later it happened that when some who had made particularly low scores in the group test were recalled for individual examination, this lad was among the number. Thinking a mistake must surely have been made the examiner went to the files, found his examination paper, and discovered that he had done an abominable piece of work. Truly he had worked far down each page, but he had practically no correct answers. Individual

examination showed that he was a high-grade moron[1] who had obviously taken this method of fooling people. He probably had often succeeded in fooling others and would have done so in this instance had it not been for the accurate check of a standardized test.

In this case, the simulation of intelligence by excess activity manifested itself in the exaggerated attention and industry. It often happens that it is shown particularly in speech, in which case, we have what is called a "loquacious moron." These individuals chatter away without the least discretion. They will shamelessly boast about their ability while they are doing an extremely poor performance. They think that if they acknowledge their cleverness the examiner will agree with them. They furnish incontrovertible evidence that it takes a wise man to hold his tongue.

2. *The second method is to defend one's self by irritability.* This trick is very easily learned and readily lends itself to exaggeration. It is well known that anger is a good method for controlling the conduct of others. If we desire to gain a favor from another or to secure his coöperation, and have tried all the rational methods, such as persuasion, exhortation, and reason with no success, we can often get the desired end by a flash of temper. One who has been stolid before will often yield before anger. The child learns this trick and plays it on his mother; a tantrum is a common occurrence, and if not checked will grow in intensity. Hence, a high-grade feeble-minded person will often persist in this method of gaining his ends. This produces the irascible type of moron. A method adopted to gain certain ends becomes a common habit and at the least provocation such a moron will fly into a rage and even commit atrocities.

[1] *Moron* is the Greek word for *fool* and is technically used to designate the group of feeble-minded just below the normal level — those having intelligence quotients between 50 and 75.

From this it must not be presumed that all uncontrolled response to anger is based on low mentality. An epileptic is apt to show this lack of emotional stability and there are definite mental diseases which also have this as one symptom; but these latter show other symptoms in connection with the lack of emotional control.

3. *The third method is to gain the desired ends by immoral conduct.* This, of course, includes a large number of different types of behavior all having, however, the common characteristic that they are designed to gratify the impulses of the individual without the consideration of the restraints imposed by the social order. If a young man of this type wants to give his beloved a present and has not the means, he will proceed to gather it from the first available source. Those in this group are clever enough to cover most of their traces and so form quite a different problem from the low-grade criminal. The low-grade criminal is often so because he has become the dupe of some one who is more clever than he is. He therefore is very likely to be caught and is easily led to divulge the secrets of his master. The high-grade criminal knows that he is nonsocial but lacks judgment to perceive that his methods are of the sort that almost inevitably lead to detection and punishment.

Some of the tricks used by a member of this group would lead one to suspect that he was very bright; until one learns that the methods have been learned from others and were only acquired after long practice. For example, one of the artifices of a man of this type was as follows: Armed with a five dollar bill and a one dollar bill he would enter a store. He would purchase a small item such as a cigar or a pack of cigarettes and amid a flow of talk about any trivial thing he would present the five dollar bill in payment. The clerk in the conventional manner would count out the change.

Our crook would take the four one dollar bills, and add to them the one dollar bill which he had, and ask the clerk if he would mind giving him a five dollar bill for the five ones. This the clerk would start to do. As soon as the five dollar bill was exhibited the trickster would say: "I wonder if you have a ten? If you have I could get rid of all this change for one bill, and I would like it much better." The clerk would look for a ten and if he found one the crook would count out his five ones and the clerk's five and turn them over for the ten. Usually he was enabled to get the clerk so befuddled with all this money changing that he would get away with the trick.

Another such thing practiced by the same chap was to get into a strange place and wiping his face with his handkerchief exclaim: "My, but I am transpiring." Some purist was almost sure to correct him immediately and inform him that he meant "perspiring." He would insist that he was correct — that he meant transpire; in fact he was willing to bet that he was right and usually succeeded in placing a bet of about five dollars. Then a dictionary was consulted (always an unabridged one was called for) and sure enough one of the meanings for transpire is "to pass through the pores of the skin." He always won his bet. By an alternation of these two tricks this young man was able to obtain sufficient money to keep himself in opium, a habit in keeping with his other traits.

The incentive for learning for these people is immediate reward, and the only thing that will prevent any particular type of conduct is immediate punishment. They do not respond, as do normals, to the action of remote rewards and punishments. They learn that a certain act will bring a certain immediate reward and they will continue to perform this act with excessive persistence. This deceives the one

who sees such behavior superficially because he thinks that such wonderful retention of a thing that has been learned demonstrates ability. *Mental ability* includes mental agility and thus *embraces ability to unlearn a thing as well as to learn it* when there is definite evidence that the first course is not the best. To unlearn a thing means the exercise of intelligence to form a new adjustment, and when one has a limited amount of ability one always has a fear of attacking what may appear an unnecessary mental problem. Therefore, a moron, once anchored, is loth to lessen his hold on solid ground. We are all familiar with the typical reaction of this class of individuals in the industrial and business world. They have to be taught in detail just what to do and then they do it accurately. To ask a person of this type to do an unaccustomed task is, in his opinion, an injustice. Their common cry is, "That is not my job, why should he ask me to do that? He is trying to put one over on me." This holds for all spheres of conduct and once an unmoral trick has been learned the moron will say, "Why should I change? I get what I am after. Other people do the same," etc. For this reason the intensive moral training of a person of this type in early years is more essential than that of an individual of high-grade intelligence. There is a wider basis of appeal to the intelligent youth, whereas in the moron the appeal must be limited and often proves ineffectual.

Now, if we could produce any immediate reward for morality that is equivalent to the reward of unsocial conduct we could easily reform such persons, but we must admit that the rewards of virtue are in the future. We may argue that honesty is the best policy, that the thief will surely be caught. The high-grade feeble-minded boy wants to know what he will get in return for the hundred dollars, the theft of which you urge him to forego. He is willing to take a chance of the

present reward against the future possibilities; the moron is a consummate gambler because he cannot balance the factors in the case and gambling inevitably involves either the ignoring of some elements or inability to appreciate them.

We believe that the brief outline we have given shows that the first essential towards attempting a cure of a case of any type of queer or unmoral conduct is an intelligence rating. Without this our best judgment is likely to go astray. But, having given the intelligence test, we must not assume that if the individual rates slightly or even seriously below normal that this in itself is the cause of the abnormal conduct. It may be the cause; but it is more likely to be only a contributing factor; and since it is a factor that cannot be changed very much, it seems to be all the more important to be on the lookout for other factors that will lend themselves to remedial measures. We are too prone to argue somewhat as follows: If we have two boys raised in practically the same environment, one of whom is much brighter than the other, and we find that the duller one develops some form of undesirable activity, then the undesirable activity must be the result of the lack of intelligence. It is true that the same early training may make a good citizen of a bright lad and a criminal of a dull one, but we also know that a dull lad in a different environment may be made into a moral man. The environment must be adapted to the intelligence of the individual as well as to his other qualities. If the child is a moron, put him through a course of training calculated to make a social being from such material; do not put him in a situation designed to develop the bright child and then if he fails to conform blame it on his lack of intelligence. Blame the failure on the lack of intelligence of the persons who construct an educational scheme which uses the same methods for individuals of all sorts of different mental equipment.

One of the things that have handicapped educational and social workers in the utilization of the results of intelligence testing is the old view of democracy which has been held for so long. We have been imbued with the idea that each individual has an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. He could only be taken in hand when it was definitely shown that he had done some act that jeopardized the opportunity of another to these rights. When psychologists began to emphasize the difference between individuals in intellectual ability, every move toward the preservation of the race from the inroads of defectives and even of the care of the unfortunates themselves was met with severe opposition.

We readily admit the fact that all men are not equal physically and that they never can become so. They are not the same in color of hair or eyes, in physical features, in tastes, or any other characteristics that we may select. Just so, there are differences in intellectual capacity which we should admit as readily. If this is so how can we ever take the attitude that each individual should have equal influence in legislation, in the preservation of peace and harmony, and in the direction and control of other human affairs? We may try to give all an equal opportunity to take part in these matters, but they cannot take part equally. The more intelligent ones will inevitably take the lead as every move of human affairs has amply demonstrated.

Perceiving these facts, a new theory has been advanced: that, while we cannot give equality to all on account of individual differences, we can at least give all equal opportunity. This in itself is a pernicious fallacy impossible of fulfillment. We cannot extend an equal opportunity to all; we can endeavor to keep the external environment the same for all individuals, but that will only accentuate the difference in individuals.

This is nothing but a crude attempt to exonerate ourselves for our blunders and false philosophy. We argue that if we keep the school conditions exactly the same, if we give each child an equal opportunity and he does not respond, it is his fault; we have done our part in presenting the opportunity, and so we wash our hands of the result.

As well might the physician have as his philosophy "an equal chance of life for all," and in order to present this equal opportunity expose each infant to the same amount of air, food, etc., leaving it to the child to respond in accordance with his capacity. If some die the physician has exonerated himself; he has given an equal opportunity of life to all. A physician does not do anything of the sort. He will allow a sturdy child much freedom because this child has an extraordinarily strong constitution and some hardships will do him good. He makes an abject slave of another, penning him in a room, and forcing him to stay in bed under the constant supervision of a nurse. The physician is anything but democratic, and yet no one tries to legislate against the type of slavery he is practicing.

Our ideal is not equal opportunity for all; that phrase is a bit of high-sounding sophistry that has no real meaning. We are obsessed with the notion of human equality; we charge the same fare on the train for a lightly built girl of 80 pounds and a big woman of 240 pounds. One is three times the load of the other but they are both human souls and hence equal. Two men have spent a required amount of time learning a certain type of work and join a union. They both must be paid the same, according to union notions, although one may be four or five times as proficient as the other. Every child must be sent to school and taught the same subjects even though one is bright and the other feeble-minded.

Society may owe it to a feeble-minded boy to make the most

possible of him, but it certainly does not owe it to him to waste time and effort trying to make him do the impossible. What is it we owe to those who have not been blessed with the highest degree of intelligence? *We owe them the right to secure as much of happiness as it is possible for them to have;* but we must not make the mistake of thinking that it takes the same things to make all individuals happy. A child is made happy with much simpler things than are required by an adult, and strangely enough the complexity of things required to make an individual happy is closely correlated with his intelligence. A highly intelligent man is not happy unless he has complicated work, while a less intelligent individual is miserable if placed in a position where more is required of him then he can perform. An illustration may make this clear. During the mobilization of our army a recruit came to the office of the Psychological Examining Board and asked for an intelligence examination. This request was so unusual that he was asked why he wanted such a test. It developed that he had been drilled for a period of six weeks and could not learn to march properly. He said that he had tried his best but that he could not learn. The captain used to take him out in front of the company and march him up and down, yelling and swearing at him, so as to make an example of him for the rest of the company and incidentally to make him learn by means of the severity of this special discipline. The poor recruit was very much humiliated. His comrades teased him and said that he did not want to learn because he was a coward and did not want to go to France. He said he was not afraid to fight, that he wanted to go to France, but that he could not learn to drill. What he wanted was to be transferred to the remount depot to work with the horses. This unit was exposed to as many dangers as any other and was planning to leave camp just as soon as, or sooner than, the organization

with which he was drilling. He was given a test and it was found that he was a moron. He was transferred on the recommendation of the Psychological Board to the remount depot and a few weeks later came back with his face beaming. He said that his remount unit was leaving that day for France, that he was having a fine time working there at something he could do, and that he hoped he would be in the thick of the fight before long. A high-grade man might not have been happy doing simple stable work; but this man was happy, because it was a job suited to his ability. *Democracy does not mean equality of position, of possessions, or of freedom. It means an equal right to happiness*, if we understand that the requirements to produce happiness vary with the capabilities and characteristics of different individuals.

With this point of view it can be seen how erroneous is the current notion that psychologists are on the lookout for those of defective intelligence in order hopelessly to brand them in such a way as to rob them of part of their share of life. *The aim of the psychologist is to make people happy and not to brand them. He knows that they can be happy only when properly adjusted to their environment;* and his testing programs and analyses are only steps in the direction of furthering this adjustment. In some types of maladjustment the thing to do is to readjust the individual to the situation as it exists; but this cannot be done very readily with one who has inferior mental ability. In this case the only thing to do is to adjust the environment to the individual, or rather, to select that part of life which is suitable to his level. This is only a more painless way of doing what would eventually happen to him should he be given so-called freedom and turned loose to shift for himself.

Nor does this mean that the psychologist or teacher who uses psychological tests should bluntly and untactfully make

unwarranted and dogmatic statements. The physician who finds a person with pulmonary tuberculosis is not thereby warranted in bluntly informing the patient that he is inferior in that he has a vicious disease, that he is a menace to society and must be locked up till he dies. Yet, this is the equivalent of what some tactless psychologists have been doing, and they have done inestimable harm to the work. For instance, one shortsighted and tactless individual examined a boy of sixteen who had a mental age of about twelve (his intelligence quotient was 75), which placed him in the borderline group between the normal and the feeble-minded. This boy came from a very fine home, he had received much social culture, and his parents were anxious to do all in their power to help him. The psychologist in making the report stated that his was the type of mentality from which criminals are made, that the boy was likely to become a menace to society, and that the best thing to do was to place him in an institution. Such a statement was absurd and unwarranted. Further study of the boy showed that he had no vicious tendencies. He was very girlish and childish in his tastes and preferred to stay at home and take care of the baby or wash dishes rather than to play the usual boy's games. After further investigation of his case the parents decided to relinquish high hopes that the boy might take advanced training in high school and college and secured work for him in a trade requiring skill but little adaptability. The boy has been in the work for several years now and is doing well, is happy in his work and delighted with his success, and has made as nearly a perfect social adjustment as one could ask.

Oftentimes a person of mediocre ability is forced into criminality by the hopeless complexity (for him) of the situations into which he is thrust. A teacher will try for six or eight years to teach a feeble-minded boy to read, instead of teaching

him to do with his hands some task of which he is capable. She vainly imagines that if he does not learn academic subjects his life will be ruined. Education is a process designed to bring out what is in the child. To be able to do this we must first find out what is in him and then bring that out. In our mad desire to make all children do the same thing we often overlook what the individual child is fitted to do and thus ruin any possibilities that he may possess by lack of any encouragement toward their development. Then, after we have wasted time for eight years trying to bring out what is not there, we turn the poor victim of our ignorance out into society. He is not trained to adapt himself to even the humblest vocation and so is very likely to become an economic and moral wreck. How much better it would be to recognize that there are mental levels and social levels, and in line with this knowledge to attempt to adjust each pupil to the social situation especially suitable for him!

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. In order to train a moron it is necessary to supply immediate rewards. Do not expect him to strive for a remote goal.

2. Do not try to make the moron bright. Find out what he can do and develop that even if it does not meet with the usual academic standards.

3. The moron has a definite place in society and the school should train him to fit into that place.

4. The moron, like any other person, is happy in doing what he can do reasonably well and is unhappy if given a task far above his ability.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Why do borderline cases constitute a special problem?

2. Describe the behavior of the loquacious moron.

3. How is the irascible type of moron developed?

4. Show how one may easily be deceived by the tricks of a moron into believing that he is intelligent.

5. What can be said of the learning ability of a moron?
6. What difficulties arise in teaching morality to a moron?
7. How is democracy as commonly understood incompatible with individual differences?
8. What objections arise to the slogan, "Equal opportunity for all"?
9. What does society owe to the feeble-minded?
10. What is the duty of educational institutions to the feeble-minded?

SECTION VI

INADEQUATE APPRECIATION OF REALITY

CHAPTER XIX

Defective Social Judgment

There are various individuals not handicapped by low-grade intelligence who never seem to awaken to the fact that reality is an important factor that must be considered if the individual is to make any adequate place for himself in society. This failure to appreciate the gravity of failure to conform leads them into constant and repeated difficulties. In some of these cases it may seem that the real trouble is that the ego drive is too great to be inhibited but, on analysis, the real trouble does not seem to be this. Others with stronger ego drives are able to obtain enough foresight relating to foolish actions to be at least a little discreet. All the individuals that fall into this group know with more or less certainty that they will lose in the end, but that seems not to alter them in the least.

While this tendency toward inadequate appreciation of reality would of course be aggravated by any intellectual defect, those that properly fall here often show no marked defect in intellectuality; they are frequently very bright. The failure is a thing apart from intellectual inferiority. Let us consider how adequate appreciation may be blocked.

The individual hates to admit that his might is limited; he refuses to acknowledge that he has not complete power over his surroundings. The desire for power arises very early in a child and is never escaped. The child wishes for a certain thing and it is supplied to him. Consequently, he is likely

to believe that his thought was enough to produce the desired result. The ordinary individual soon learns that he has to have other conditions fulfilled in connection with a wish in order for the latter to prove effective.

If the desire for dominance persists these other forces are usually recognized and cultivated. If these latter do not prove effective the child is likely to revert to the idea that he can influence circumstances by the magical potency of his thoughts. So we find individuals who cannot think of certain things for fear they will come true; or they will spend vast amount of time thinking about other things so that they will eventuate. For instance, one young man about eighteen years of age told the following: At first he did not dare to think about a house as burning for, if he did, that house might burn and he would then have been the cause of the fire. In this first notion, the fact that anything followed a thought of his proved that the thought was the cause of the event. Later he went further. He argued that if there was a fire and that fire was reported in the newspapers, and he should read about that fire in the paper and think about that house burning, the fire would have been caused by this subsequent thinking about the fire. Here the sequence value was lost and it did not matter whether his thought preceded or followed the event; the thought was nevertheless the cause. So this young man gave up reading papers so as to avoid being the cause of the events he read therein. What a tremendous lift this must give one's ego! How grand, even though unpleasant, to believe that all one needs to do to be the cause of events which have already happened is to think about those events! That an individual can become so far removed from the appreciation of reality is evidence enough that teachers should endeavor with all their powers to keep their children in touch with reality.

When one realizes that a battle is on between his ego and the environmental realities he may retain the exaltation of his ego by active opposition to reality. This may be a straightforward attempt to change the thing which causes the trouble; and, even though the result may not be in the nature of a complete change or removal of the disturbing element in reality, the fact that the compromise is not all one-sided, not all in favor of reality, gives him some gratification if he can feel that he did not have to surrender in entirety. The change may be slight but the satisfaction may be there just the same. A story is told of a woman whose dog crawled under a piece of furniture. She ordered him out, she coaxed him, she teased him with a bribe, but he persisted to her disgust and anger in his determination to remain in his chosen hiding place. Finally, after she had exhausted all the means at her disposal for dislodging him, she exclaimed: "Well, you just stay there; I *will* be obeyed." Here is the compromise in which the original situation was left just as it was; but a compromise, which meant a virtual surrender, was better than acknowledgment of failure, as far as her peace of mind was concerned. Such satisfaction must be small to be sure, and hardly to be compared to the pleasure one must feel when he has instituted a radical readjustment so that in the ensuing compromise the environment is radically modified and his ego left practically intact. The normal life is a series of compromises of this sort, for compromises are inevitable. Nevertheless, they are distasteful, and one is always on the lookout for means to avoid such compromises; therefore, before one surrenders he uses different methods of attempting to change environmental conditions so that they will more nearly fit his needs.

The fact that one is repeatedly frustrated may lead him to think that everything is wrong and that the only way to exist is to "beat the game." The frustrated individual reflects

that he did not come into this world at his own volition and that it is up to the world to see that he gets his share of satisfaction from it. Anyone or anything that opposes this is wrong, and he will show those who oppose that they had better not interfere unless they wish to suffer for doing so. Backed by this logic he perhaps starts out to cheat, or steal, and abuse everything and everybody who stands in his way. He finally winds up a common criminal. If clever enough, he may evade authority for some time, and in this case we have a Jesse James — a criminal who had such success in forcing conditions to meet his wishes that he won a rather general admiration because of his success. On the other hand, if he is not exceptional, he may land very early in the juvenile court and reform school; not indeed to be reformed, in many cases, but to bridge the gap between youth, when he is too young to be in jail, and manhood, when he will either be a "repeater" in the criminal courts or obtain such a long sentence that society is rid of him.

These people are rarely repentant, except to be sorry when they are caught. They are bitter and hard; the more they are restrained the more vile their behavior becomes. They will not compromise to the extent that they will admit that they owe anything to society; society owes them all and they are going to collect. If they cannot collect in the open, they will by means of gaining free lodging in some institution.

It can readily be seen that such inadequate appreciation of reality actually produces an abnormal being; so abnormal that treatment is usually hopeless. Why has he become so fixed in these rationalizations? Because as long as he is fighting conditions as they exist he is getting satisfaction for his ego. He feels that he would be a coward if he should quit. He gets a deal of satisfaction from being a criminal or he would not be one, and that satisfaction is one of self-congrat-

ulation that he alone (or in company with a few others) is brave enough to oppose conditions that would rob him of his last vestige of manhood and make him the same type of grovelling simpleton that all the rest of the conformists appear to him to be.

We all admire the man who can change the environment; who can turn a situation completely so as to gain his ends. We all wish that we could do the same. At the same time we admit that such modification must conform to the rights of others, and when we find that we are incapable of doing this feat we admit that the situation is too difficult and resign ourselves to the inevitable. Such a compromise, however, requires considerable self-abasement, and the type of man that we have just been describing refuses to compromise to that extent.

It must not be understood that this characterization fits all criminals. There are various types of criminals and this only pictures one single type. That such logic and such a drive to support one's ego is responsible in some cases of chronic criminality is certain. But it is not enough to state that these individuals lack social judgment. We have seen that erroneous judgment is usually based on some real cause and we have traced some of the causes of judgment and behavior errors. Any of the mechanisms we have described might lead to criminality; it is impossible to study criminals without a knowledge of abnormal psychology. The application of this knowledge means an intensive survey and study of each case presented. Generalizations in this field are most pernicious. When a child is nonsocial there must be adequate reasons; we may not be able to find them all or to evaluate properly all that we do find, but this problem forms one of the most serious for a teacher and warrants intense study even if the help that can be obtained from science is meagre.

A boy was recently brought to a clinic by his teacher, who complained that the boy did not try to learn and played truant shamelessly. He ran about constantly with a boy two years his senior who influenced him to stealing and to doing other nonsocial things. On examination this boy was found to have an intelligence quotient of 112. The question was, why did he behave as he did? At first glance the conventional thing would have been to select as the explanation the fact that he had a bad companion by whom he was influenced. But why should a boy of superior intelligence do what some other boy told him to do when he found that he got into difficulties thereby? Further, the patient himself confessed with no great hesitation that when he stole something, his comrade "beat him up" if he tried to keep what he had stolen, and took it from him, never allowing him to have any of the loot. In spite of this, he kept on stealing whenever told to do so by this particular boy. Hence we might say that he was afraid of the bigger boy; but if he was afraid, we are at a loss to account for his conduct in connection with this boy. He was constantly on the hunt for him. He would stay away from school and hunt for this boy and together they would get into some mischief. Now, when an intelligent boy follows a boy who bullies him, gets him into trouble, and does not even allow him a portion of the rewards of their crimes, there must be some fundamental reason for the attachment.

When we investigated the family condition of this boy we found that he had five sisters and one small brother. Without the least hesitation he expressed hatred for his sisters and girls in general. It seems his sisters teased him, pulled his hair, and took away books when he was reading and ran off with them. His father punished him severely for his escapades but his mother did not. Asked why his mother did not punish him he asserted that she was not big enough. In spite

of the whippings by the father, he asserted that he thought much more of his father than of his mother — his reason being that his father bought him things while the mother would not.

Another important fact came out when he was asked why he did not go to school. At first he said it was because he did not like the teachers; they punished him when he was late and so he would not go at all. An attempt was made to appeal to his ambition. We asked him whether he did not want to do something worth while in life. Of course he assented. Then he was told that he never would if he did not learn, and that going to school was essential to learning. Immediately he bristled up, threw out his chest and said, "My father never went to school, so why should I?"

We all know that a boy is very apt to fix on his father as his ideal, and it was quite evident that this boy thought that his father was perfect. Further questioning strengthened the fact. His father no doubt had boasted that he had gotten along without going to school. The boy, emulating his father, wanted to do the same. The father boasted about how much he read and how he had learned in this manner. Our patient was extremely fond of reading and resented the least interference in this; he hated his sisters because they took his books, that is, kept him from being just like his father. The whippings he secured from his father were evidence that he was getting the attention of the one he admired most.

There is, further, little doubt that the boy comrade was a father substitute; he was older than the patient and treated him with the same show of authority that the father did. This sort of analysis gives not only a fundamental cause but furnishes a means of correction. The teacher was told to go to the father and tell him frankly that he was the cause of the delinquency of his son and explain just why. The way to get the boy over his trouble was to have the father influence the

change; he had caused the other line of conduct and he alone could modify it now. He was told to cease boasting that he had never gone to school and to express sorrow that he had not done so, and to follow this by encouraging the boy in his school work and showing an interest in it. Furthermore, since the bad companion was a substitute for the father, he was told that he could easily win the boy from this association by taking the time to be a comrade to the boy until the bad comrade was forgotten. He was told not to beat the boy for not going to school, for he had tried this and had failed. In a case of this sort, a boy does not care what his father orders him to do — he wants to be like the father even if it means disobedience. The father may order the boy not to smoke, for instance, and may whip him if he catches him at it; but if, in smoking, the boy is like the father, he has taken a step toward his ideal and he is willing to take a whipping in return for the satisfaction thus experienced.

As in all other instances of behavior difficulties, the source of satisfaction must be located and the modification must begin there. If the boy in emulating the father does an unsocial thing, then the father must do something else to get the boy to imitate that. This change must be genuine, however, for the boy will soon detect any superficial behavior on the part of the father, and if the father simply says once that he wishes he had gone to school, and then shows in a thousand ways that he is glad he did not, the boy will know that he is lying and will not be deceived in the slightest.

Oftentimes the parent may be the direct cause of the child's learning to lie or steal. For example, a little girl came home from school late one afternoon and her mother asked her where she had been. She told the truth and said that she had gone to the home of a girl friend to play, whereupon the mother gave the girl a whipping. The girl of course subcon-

sciously interpreted this as a punishment for telling the truth. A few days later she again went to the home of this girl friend after school and came home late. When asked where she had been she lied and said that the teacher had kept her after school; whereupon, the mother did not say or do anything further. This of course was a reward for telling a lie. Why should a girl so trained not continue to lie? She would lack intelligence if she did not.

One mother told the writer that she never punished her children when they told her the truth about what they did, so her son learned that after he did something wrong that he could easily escape punishment by quickly confessing. In this way he might do anything he liked so long as he confessed it afterwards. In this case the mother needed to use her judgment instead of refraining invariably from punishment upon the child's confession.

Stealing is often taught a child in the same manner and once learned is very hard to break. A child begins taking things of a trivial nature and escapes detection. After he has learned that this is an easy way to get things he is caught and punished, but the punishment is not to be compared with the rewards he has already received for stealing. It has been found from an intensive study [1] of stealing by intelligent boys that they always begin with trivial things, usually around the home, and then they venture with such things as small articles from the counters of the five and ten cent stores. These articles satisfy the longings of the boy and are easy to get.

A child learns the rights of property very early if he is properly guided and also learns how to abuse the rights of others if trained to do so. It is surprising how easily an appeal can function if made at the right time. A certain father,

[1] This study was made by Dr. J. C. Tjaden of the University of South Dakota and Miss Grace Corwin of the Social Service Department of the Iowa Psychopathic Hospital.

who was looking for any early evidence of dishonesty in his son with the idea of teaching his child to be honest, observed the boy pick up a hammer one day when he was out walking. The boy was delighted and said, "See what I found?" The father stopped and asked him where he found it. The boy replied, "On the sidewalk." The father then asked the boy if sometimes he did not leave his toys on the sidewalk, and after he had confessed that he did the father said: "Well, suppose you left your wagon out in front of the house and some other boy came along and said that it was lost and that he had found it and would take it away, how would you like that?" The boy studied a bit, went back and dropped the hammer where he had found it, and went on perfectly satisfied.

Having learned to steal, it is remarkable how strongly the tendency persists and how early a child can become a real thief. The following case was given the writer by an alert school principal. A dollar bill had been stolen and the principal was firmly convinced that a certain girl had taken it and still had it on her person because she had had no chance to dispose of it. He called this girl into his office and tried in every reasonable way to induce her to confess, but this she would not do. Finally, he called the school nurse and had the child thoroughly searched but with no success. Still not convinced, he tried one final bold move. He told her that he had done his best to help her; but, since she continued to lie to him, the only thing left for him was to call the police. He went to the telephone and while holding down the hook pretended to be calling the police. This was just a little too much for her and she broke down and confessed that she had taken the dollar, and reaching down she pulled it from between the layers of her shoe sole. She had ripped the stitching and hidden it there. This girl was less than ten years of age and yet had become so hardened that she could go through

an extensive grilling with not the slightest suggestion of a confession. This girl did not lack intelligence nor did she fail to understand the nonsocial nature of her conduct. She had learned that she was clever enough to outwit others and had not hesitated to do so. Her case shows that even a normal child may learn to be dishonest to such a degree as to present the appearance of a hardened criminal.

Sometimes the lack of moral judgment is very pronounced. The child seems never to have grasped the idea of social responsibility. This is illustrated in a boy of eighteen suffering from kleptomania, who was brought to a hospital by a deputy sheriff. The boy had for a long time stolen trivial things. It seemed to be a compulsive act gaining the boy nothing in the way of valuables. The sheriff, a neighbor, shielded the patient from trouble for some time, but as he was unwilling to do so any longer, the boy was arrested. He had left school at the age of fourteen. After leaving school — ostensibly to go to work — he went on several "bumming trips" varying in length from a few days to a few weeks. It had been his custom before this to loaf around the railway station and ride local freights back and forth between towns. From this it was an easy step to more extensive trips. After a year of this, he enlisted in the army for twelve months where he did his full term in the remount depot.

Since childhood he had had the habit of "picking up things" that did not belong to him. He could not tell when this habit began. His parents had not corrected him for it, or at least they had not punished him. At first he took money from people in the family, then he started picking up pieces of "junk" (as he calls it) and selling them. During his enlistment period he said that he broke off this stealing habit but after returning home the temptation became so strong that he began again. He then began forging checks. He had lost

money "shooting craps" (this habit he had learned in the army) and forged checks to make good his losses. After this he forged others to make good the first checks, until the thing got so tangled that he was caught and fined five dollars and costs. The sum of the checks amounted to forty dollars.

He said that his arrest was a lesson to him and that since then he had stolen nothing until, while under the influence of drink, he committed the theft which ended in his commitment to a psychopathic hospital.

In giving his story he seemed to be repentant, but was extremely childish and lacking in insight. He liked to call himself a kleptomaniac. He was repentant only in an attempt to escape his merited punishment. He said that if he had to "do time" the sooner it began the better, as it would be over that much sooner; but he thought that if he turned reformer the authorities would be lenient with him. Consequently, he made some attempts to get on the prohibition forces.

The following extracts from his letters indicate the nature of his attitude. This is a letter to his mother:

I honestly believe that they can do me some good here. I don't understand just what it is but it is an awful queer something that caused me to take that stuff. I was sorry I had when I got home but it was too late to take it back and if Walt and Billy wouldn't have come before supper I would have taken it back. Then when they came I just got so nervous I didn't know what all I had took and what I didn't. But when they came back the second time they got absolutely everything that I had taken. But it certainly made me sore when Father said he would tell Walt to go ahead and push me. But I couldn't help it. In fact I really didn't try to fite that desire to help myself until after I rote these checks. Then when I went out to Walt's I didn't think much about it till I got home from hauling corn and got to thinking of helping myself to what I wanted. But even before I got home I got to thinking how rong it was and I was so nervous I didn't know whether to go back or not. When I got home father asked me if Walt would find things the way he left them, and I hated to lie so I says he ought to. I only hope it don't take all my money for expenses here but I am afraid it is going to. I didn't know just how long I will have to stay. But am trying to forget

how to steal and maybe they will have some medicine or something that will help me. If I get out before long, I have my work all planned for I am going to try and get on the Prohibition forces. Then I will make good and do other people some good too. I absolutely know of stills and moonshiners and bootleggers — in ———— and ———— Counties. I didn't tell ———— or anybody their names and I hope you wont even tell Father that I am going to get rid of them when I get done here, for he can't keep anything like that a secret — I've learned more this last two weeks than I did for 15 hole months. Am learning something here too. It is amusing to watch these other young fellows. I don't know what any of them are here for but they seem to be getting different all the time.

To the prohibition agent he wrote:

You will think it strange that I rite but you are the only Prohibition agent that I actually know of and I would like to get on the force. I would never have thot of it but I used to have the habit of helping myself to money and anything I could get to sell. And have been trying to break myself. Then I was working for my board on a farm this winter and I was shelling corn one day and a fellow wanted me to take a drink and I did. Now I am against whiskey and moonshiners and bootleggers and all crooked work. When I got that drink in me I went home and helped myself (stole) to a pistol and shot gun shells and other junk. When I got to town I was myself again and wished I hadn't done it, but it was too late. Now, Mr. ——, I am fully acquainted with bootleggers and moonshiners in ——— and ——— Counties in several towns and in the country. But they sent me here to be examined and I will be here for a few days. I don't wish to serve a term in the pen so I would like to get on the Prohibition forces.

This sounds silly and childish, but the intelligence of this boy was nearly normal — he had an intelligence quotient of 94. He seemed to lack moral judgment and lacked insight enough to hide the lack. He could state the Golden Rule glibly enough, but seemed to have no basic reason for moral conduct. All of his talk about reforms was hollow sounding — apparently a mere pretext to help him escape punishment, now that he had been caught.

Such individuals seem to lack a fundamental judgment ability, but analysis usually reveals that they have a false estimate of social responsibility. They have learned that when they do things that bring them what they wish, even if

that thing is contrary to law and order, some one will shield them. They may have to simulate disease, position, an "irresistible impulse," a period of forgetfulness, a headache, or kleptomania, but these are simply part of their scheme for outwitting society. They are nonsocial because they have been clever enough to "put it over" (as they express it) in the past. *They have distorted values because they have been taught them by elders who have permitted themselves to be duped.*

This tendency does not always take the form of criminal or nonsocial acts. We see the same thing in persons who are continually getting into all sorts of mishaps and who must be helped by charitable organizations or private individuals who have ultra-tender hearts. They get into trouble not because they have not sense enough to keep out — they can foresee as well as anyone what the consequences will be; but because they trust to luck that something will turn up. It usually does, in the form of some one who takes pity on them.

For instance, a woman of this type who had been very much abused and could not keep out of unfortunate adventures was employed in the kitchens of a hospital. She had to borrow money to live on the first month till she got her pay. She paid back part of her debts and then managed to get enough to have her photograph taken. She got the highest priced photographs she could find and had a dozen prints made. Two of these she stood up in her room and one in the kitchen where she worked. The rest she sent to various persons who had abused her during her checkered career. Before she got out of the financial obligations which this episode brought on, she bought a fine fur coat which she proceeded to wear over her kitchen clothes. If she wanted something she bought it, regardless of the financial obligations involved. She constantly got into squabbles with other employees of the hospital; always in such a way as to obtain sympathy from

some one. After some petty affair she would stay away from work and have to be traced and calmed down before she could be induced to come back. One day when she did not come to work, a social worker went after her and found the house in which she lived tightly locked but surrounded by the odor of illuminating gas. A force was called, who broke in and found that no gas was turned on anywhere. It evidently had been turned on and then turned off again. The woman was in her room lying on her bed with her open Bible beside her. After having been assisted through a number of such episodes she suddenly left town, leaving behind a most scathing note, in which she stated that she had never received such vile treatment in her life, and she hoped never to lay eyes on that place again.

Whether this lack of judgment depends upon an innate defect is not known, certainly, though the writer doubts this version of the case. *In these persons one can usually trace a history which shows that the person has been consistently rewarded for nonsocial conduct or has been constantly helped whenever he got into a difficulty.* When a person is always rewarded for certain acts why should he not continue to do them? If one confesses that he is so vulnerable why should not the person to whom this confession is made take advantage? Why should he work when he can get others to do it and turn over the spoils to him? If, when a boy or a girl forges a check, the father quickly redeems it, why should he not continue to do so whenever he wants money? Little moral speeches or platitudes about the policy of honesty have no weight when dishonesty gratifies the child's desires and is always rewarded.

These people have a lack of appreciation of reality. Their viewpoint is not a balanced one, for they fail to see that in the long run they will lose by their tactics; but they are not imbeciles in any sense. The term moral imbecile is a mis-

nomer. They are moral perverts and not moral imbeciles. A perversion is learned; it is a habit which persists because it has been definitely fixed in such a way that it is extremely hard to modify. If one takes this view, the situation is not so hopeless as it may seem. If we look on these nonsocial types as the result of innate lacks the situation is out of our grasp. If we take the point of view that even if some innate tendency may further the formation of such perverse types it can only be the groundwork for the formation of a habit, we can look for the first signs of an inadequate appreciation of reality and make sure that the child does get an adequate notion of the adjustments he must make.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

1. The child's social attitude is the result of his teaching. Teach him that society is a coöperative scheme that requires the participation of all, and that if he fails to participate he loses thereby.

2. When a child develops unsocial tendencies he has learned them. Try to discover how he learned them. This will give the clue as to how to check them.

3. What appears to be a lack of social judgment may take on a different aspect when you learn the premises upon which the judgment was based. Attempt to correct the premises and the judgment will usually take care of itself.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. How may a child develop a hostile attitude toward society?
2. Psychologically what should be our attitude toward the criminal?
3. Show how a boy's devotion for his father might lead to misconduct.
4. Explain how dishonesty may be taught inadvertently to children.
5. Indicate how early training may lead to a hardened attitude and point out the remedy for such an attitude.
6. Describe the lack of judgment of the confirmed thief.
7. How can thievery be traced to a false estimate of social responsibility?
8. Show how chronic charity cases lack social judgment.
9. How do tender-hearted people sometimes assist in the development of dependents?
10. Distinguish between moral imbecility and moral perversity.

SECTION VII

A MENTAL HYGIENE PROGRAM

CHAPTER XX

Prevention of Abnormalities

The prevention of abnormalities involves an adequate conception of all the causes of these disorders before adequate corrective measures can be applied. To outline a complete program at the present time is impossible because we do not have an adequate knowledge of all the causative factors. For a time most of the blame for mental disturbances has been placed at the door of heredity, and heredity zealots have preached the gospel of eugenic marriages as a solution of all difficulties. No doubt some of the disorders can be reduced in this manner, but the method of applying such measures at the present time is very difficult and hazardous. When it can definitely be shown that a particular disorder is inherited, steps can be taken to prevent propagation of those possessing this mental malformation. However, in the cases where heredity *can* be definitely assigned as a cause it is only one factor, and even in such cases its importance has not been ascertained. Hence, about all we can say is that where science has demonstrated that there is great likelihood that a disorder of a serious type is hereditary, it is advisable to counsel against the procreation of those possessing this disorder. Meanwhile, it is to be hoped that further study by specialists in genetics will throw more light on this part of the mental hygiene program so that future generations may profit from the researches of this present one.

The educator's task is quite different. After a child has been born into the world our problem is to make him a men-

tally well-balanced citizen. We have shown that we cannot hope to have an infant grow to manhood or womanhood and go through life without struggles and conflicts, and it would probably not be desirable to avoid conflict were it possible. What we want to do is to *see that the child makes adjustments to each battle* as it arises, so that the final result will be a child stronger and better than before the onset of the struggles. We believe that mental stamina is developed by adjustment to opposition just as muscular stamina develops when the muscle lifts a load. Hence, the policy of shielding a child from all difficulty is like refusing to use a muscle for fear it might become strained.

Having decided to expose our child to difficulties and supervise him through them, where are we to begin? In the home. The fundamental habits of a person are established very early in life. We are prone to think that the formation of later more complex habits — the sort which determine personality and character — comes later; but we must remember that these later more complex habits are simply elaborations of the ones established early in life. The older an individual becomes the less plastic is his nervous organization. The days of infancy are those of greatest modifiability.

> Plasticity in the wide sense of the word, means the possession of a structure weak enough to yield to an influence, but strong enough not to yield all at once. Each relatively stable phase of equilibrium in such a structure is marked by what we may call a new set of habits. Organic matter, especially nervous tissue, seems endowed with a very extraordinary degree of plasticity of this sort.[1]

Now, in infancy the coördination of the nervous organism is very weak and yields to all sorts of influences. These influences modify the baby very much and he organizes habits on the basis of them. As he gets older the system of nervous coördination is less easily modified so that, in a sense, these

[1] James, William — *Psychology*, 135; Henry Holt and Co., 1908.

habits are fixed, not absolutely unchangeable, but relatively so; thus chance influences in babyhood form the foundation for the later character of the individual.

When the mother decides to deny the baby something it desires, lets him cry for half an hour, and then gives him the object, she is teaching the child to cry for what he wants. When she waits until he throws himself into a tantrum before she yields, and upon the manifestation of one of these gives him his desire, she is teaching him to have tantrums. When she waits on a child and pets him — and does this with great gusto — only when he is sick, she is teaching him to get sick in order to be babied. When she permits him to get what he wants by pouting and sulking, she is teaching him to turn in on himself and pout when he meets opposition. When she helps him in every problem he encounters, she is making a weakling of him and ruining his chances of self-reliance. Thus, in a thousand ways she is molding him for the future.

It is astounding how often parents seem to be wholly ignorant of the plasticity of the infants in their care. You will hear them talking to a caller in the presence of the child in some such manner as this: "Johnny is getting so bad I cannot do anything with him; he is disobedient and impudent to his mother and I have just about given up trying to make him mind me." And then she wonders why Johnny does not mind! He would have to lack in intelligence not to take the hint that he is free to do as he pleases. Or she may say: "Mary is such a pretty child, I just love to fix her up so that she outshines Mrs. Jones's little girl." And then she wonders why Mary develops into a self-centred egotist! These parents act as though their children had no more receptive organs than a table.

Anyone who has had any dealings with young children knows the extreme ease with which they pick up a new idea.

A child will hear a profane expression and immediately he will use it, not only with all the inflection and emphasis given it by the one he heard use it, but on a similar occasion. Children are molded by every expression, mood, and interest of the mother, and often the undesirable things that the child does are exact copies of the same thing that the mother has done. A mother must remember when she encourages the child to do "cute" things that the child will retain these habits as he grows. If the "cute" thing at one age is going to be embarrassing later in life, it is better not to encourage it. If a mother wants to see herself as others see her, all she needs to do is to look at her child.

Having more or less botched the character of her child, the mother sends him to school to be made into a noble citizen. Luckily this happens before the child has lost its plasticity and the teacher who understands her work can remodel the young children entrusted to her care in such a manner as to cover up many of the mistakes made in the home. If mothers could be properly instructed the teacher would have an easier task, but this is no reason for the teacher to excuse herself and, when she has failed, cast all the blame on the parents. This is just as much of an error as for the parent in turn to blame his or her mistakes upon heredity. A mother can train her child to be honest even if his grandfather was a horse thief, and the teacher can help in instilling honesty even if the parent has made a start in the direction of teaching him to lie or steal.

What makes the situation harder for the teacher is the fact that oftentimes the child comes from an unhappy home. If the parents are estranged or at swords' points the child is impressed thereby. Drunkenness, criminality, debauchery, immorality, and all sorts of inadequate mental adjustments operate to make the home of many a child a veritable hell.

If the child is plastic and has to live in such a place it is no wonder that the primary teacher has a severe task on her hands.

Even if the home surroundings have been as good as might be expected, another set of circumstances determine certain reactions of the child. He learns to love his mother and his father, his nurse, brothers, and sisters. He may at the same time learn to hate one or more of these. His young life is actuated by desires to please certain persons and to get rid of or injure others. This is inevitable and must be recognized by the teacher if she is going to have success with her children. Suppose that the teacher has some characteristic similar to that of an individual that the child loves. She will have an easy time in getting the coöperation of that child. If, on the other hand, she innocently portrays the characteristics of some one the child has learned to hate, her work will be well-nigh hopeless. Every teacher must understand that she will not gain the good will and affection of all her pupils. This is no fault of hers, but she should be quick to detect any such failure and see that each child finds some adviser who can win his good will.

Parents should investigate the situation very carefully when a child says that he does not want to go to school, and teachers should be frank enough with themselves to do the same. We like to flatter ourselves with the thought that we are able to win the affection of anybody, but we cannot do so. Another's attitude toward us is not solely the result of the manner in which we have treated this person but is partly the effect of the way in which others, who have certain characteristics similar to some that we possess, have treated this individual. We cannot control the actions of all those who look, speak, or act like us and, therefore, we need not reproach ourselves if the dislike aroused by another is transferred to ourselves. Fair

treatment of our students means a frank recognition of this transfer of affection.

Oftentimes antagonism between child and teacher is furthered by the likes and dislikes of the teacher herself. She forms certain likes and dislikes in the same manner that the child does, and in spite of efforts against it, will find herself favoring a certain child and hating or slighting another. This personal relationship has been the means of making or breaking many a school child. Many a child gains a permanent hatred for school and study, not because the school and school work are distasteful but because the teacher is.

Another thing that often makes trouble is the tendency on the part of teachers or parents to lord it over the child. Some persons who have a feeling of inferiority are never able to compensate for it adequately until they have some young child in their care. Then they begin to order the child around and treat him with the utmost severity. The lesson they seek to impress upon the weak creature, above all others, is that they are in command. They argue that discipline is essential to good citizenship and that discipline consists in a tremendous respect for the slightest wish or command they may express. You hear parents of this type impressing it upon the child that they are his parents and hence deserve his respect and submission. To have a child accede to the slightest wish makes them feel superior and they are able to forget for a time, at least, that they are not so powerful as they would like to be.

When this motive dominates the discipline of the parent or teacher, the child is almost sure (if he has any intelligence at all) to get the idea that his parent or teacher is unfair. He may submit because he must, but he looks forward to the time when he can get square or when he can lord it over children of his own. Who has not seen a little girl taking a doll

and spanking it unmercifully? The mother has made her feel inferior by spanking her, so she retaliates on the doll and hence regains her superiority.

One can get much more pleasure from studying the child and attempting to aid him in his development toward real manhood than by gratifying one's ego in such a silly manner as that indicated above. It used to be said in the army that you could test a man's calibre by making him a sergeant for a while. If, when given a little authority, he was taken up solely with impressing the others with the fact that he was in command, he was "small fry"; if he won the coöperation of the men by strict fair play, he had in him the essentials for real leadership. *It would be well for every parent and teacher to pause and ask herself whether she is merely gratifying an inferior ego by dominance over a helpless infant, or whether she is earnestly studying the child in an endeavor to bring out the best that is in him.*

The teacher of the primary grades has given into her care an extremely heterogeneous mixture of all sorts of adult maladjustments reflected in the children who have been in the care of these adults. She has spoiled little urchins who refuse to do anything unless constantly aided by their parents. She has contrary ones who do the opposite of everything that is wanted. She has those who have violent tempers and fly into a rage every time they are not satisfied with the course of events. She has sullen ones, pouty ones, priggish ones, mean ones, selfish ones, cruel ones, dishonest ones, as well as a few seemingly perfect little angels. Such characteristics are commonly called personal traits but the teacher must look upon them as symptoms; they tell her truly just where this particular child has made an error in his attempt to meet social conditions. If she can take this attitude, her work will become an extreme pleasure. If she does nothing but take a

personal attitude toward all these traits, resenting the unkind things the child does, she will have a very disheartening time and at the end of her school day will be worn threadbare. If a physician or nurse in the psychopathic hospital is slapped in the face for no reason whatever (and this often happens) he must control his normal emotional reaction to such treatment and remember that the patient is driven by some impulse which he cannot control. The task is to teach him control, if possible, and this cannot be done by fighting back. Just so the teacher must remember that she has to control her personal emotions toward seemingly unkind actions. When these occur (and they surely will) she must attempt to determine the cause and remove it, not in order to satisfy her own ego, but that the child may be saved from manifestation of the same trait in other more crucial situations.

This being true, the main qualification for a teacher, especially in the primary grades, is not the technique of teaching, but an understanding of human nature, and this understanding can only come by a study of the maladjustments of the sort that we have been trying to describe in this book. Nor can the importance of this be overemphasized. If there are any functional conflicts at all in human life then they must begin early in life; and, as every study of maladjustments has shown, it is here that the erroneous reactions that lead to later breaks are begun. The teacher must keep in mind that the child is trying to adjust, and the thing to learn is the extent to which he has or has not been successful in this. She must get away from considering the child normal, stubborn, or tractable, in any eulogistic or derogatory sense. She must look on the actions as habits which are either good or bad in their effect on the child's social adjustments, and which should either be encouraged or corrected as one would strengthen or replace any habit.

Having made an unimpassioned decision as to what is desirable and what is undesirable in a given child, the next step is to get rid of the undesirable. Now, oftentimes this cannot be done merely by placing a block in front of a particular line of activity. The child may have in some way acquired a tremendous urge to do a certain thing. Merely to place a check upon that act simply dams up that urge so that it is very likely to express itself in another quite unexpected form. What should be done is to *make sure of the nature of the urge back of an undesirable act and then to furnish the child with a more desirable outlet at the same time that the undesirable one is blocked.* To keep saying, "don't, don't" to an active boy is the sheerest kind of folly. Give him something to do, keep him busy and he will be pleased with the teacher, himself, school, and life in general.

In dealing with children, the main thing is not merely to study what they say, but also to study the motives behind their conduct. This is more important as the actions become queer. *Queer acts are as surely motivated as are conventional ones,* but as they become queer they become farther and farther removed from the main underlying motive. And as they become far removed from the main motive it becomes more and more essential to learn what that motive is. If the motive is clear and aboveboard, the child will have no reason to hide it, and the actions will not be queer. In such a case he is not ashamed of his motives. If some motive is operating which he will not confess freely, his acts are all attempts to conceal this motive and become correspondingly queer and unusual. Hence, a good procedure for a teacher to use is to observe any unusual conduct and follow this with an attempt to unearth the motive behind the conduct.

Nor can the motive be unearthed by asking the child why he did such and such a thing. He will either say that he does

not know or will give some fictitious reason. If he is so ashamed of the motive that it can only express itself in queer acts, there is little likelihood that he will divulge it upon mere questioning.

In order to get a boy or girl to tell the thing which is causing his maladjustment it is absolutely necessary that his confidence be secured. By all means such confidence should be respected. The object is not to find out the guilty secret of the child, but to get the subject in the open so that a frank viewpoint can be obtained. As we have tried to show, most of the trouble arises from a misunderstanding of facts, usually based on too meagre information. Get the child to tell freely all his ideas on the subject that is troubling him, no matter how unsocial they may be. By no means take the attitude of a moral censor and begin to criticise, for by so doing you will at once stop any further confidence. No matter how shocking the ideas that the child expresses may seem to be, give them interested attention, and do not begin to decide whether the child ought to be punished for them or not; try to think how he came by such notions, how they ought to be modified, and the best way to do it. Keep your own emotions out of it. *Sympathy is not crying and laughing with the child.* He does not particularly want you to share his moods. He wants information and guidance, so *sympathy should consist of rational understanding, interpretation, and guidance — not of sentimentality.*

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR TEACHERS

A MENTAL HYGIENE PROGRAM

1. Before making any attempt to help another adjust his mental conflicts it is absolutely essential that *one get a rational view of his own life.* One who is bound up with a lot of conflicts and is compromising with them in some of the ways that we have described cannot be of much value in aiding others, especially children.

2. *A sound body* is an essential prerequisite of the proper adjustment of mental life. There is no mental life without the functioning of the nervous system, and the health of this part of our bodies should be jealously safeguarded if we are to be normally integrated. *Teach the child the joy of the physical thrill that comes with energetic sports.* Let his energy be expended in this manner rather than in introspective brooding over his troubles, his sins, and the horrors of the future. A child in robust physical health is very likely to be optimistic. In this connection, he should be taught something of physical hygiene, cleanliness, the avoidance of infections and contagions of all sorts, for it is well known that some mental diseases are the direct results of infections. In health teaching, make health the appeal, not fear of illness.

3. *Give the child a wholesome attitude toward biological functions.* Teach him that the organs of reproduction have a noble purpose. They deserve the same respect and proper treatment as does any other organ — the eyes, nose, stomach, etc. *The sex impulse is no more vulgar nor any more to be ashamed of than the hunger for food.* He should control both with equal frankness and for the same purpose — for his own good. With this attitude he can congratulate himself over successes in this field rather than take a despondent attitude should he not be quite as strong as he would like to be.

4. *Teach the child the art of facing life as it is.* While a child needs to have a vision of the future with some ambition to be different from what he now is, at the same time he must "keep his feet on the ground" and recognize that he has to travel step by step the distance between his present position and his ideal goal. He must understand that he will meet with much opposition and disappointment and may never arrive at the place he hopes to reach. He should be ambitious, but he should not be permitted to distort his vision by vain hopes.

5. *Teach the child the habit of success.* This comes by attacking the hard problems and persisting at a task, once it is begun, until success comes. By hard problems we do not mean impossible ones that preclude chance of success. Choose problems that hold out promise of achievement with a reasonable amount of effort, and then have the child put forth a little more energy than is necessary so that success will be assured. This can be accomplished in the physical sphere as well as in the mental; in sports as well as in study. The mental effect of any success is the same.

6. *Teach the child to be honest with himself.* Having learned the nature of the different compromises that he may make, as we have tried to outline them, make sure that he is not depending on any of these to bolster up his ego. If he makes a mistake, have him frankly acknowledge it; if he is inferior, let him admit it and try consciously to make good; if he has some unfortunate characteristic, do not let him delude himself about it. Teach him either to correct it or to make the best of it.

7. *Do not permit too much content with present achievements.* Remember if there is a success at a certain point and this is too greatly empha-

sized the child will tend to stick to this success rather than attempt anything new. The value of success is to urge the child on to further conquests and not to permit him to rest on his laurels and admire himself for the rest of his life. If such success is emphasized too much the person will return to this achievement whenever later in life he meets with a rebuff. Teach him always to go forward, never backward.

8. *Teach fair play when dealing with others.* Get the children to obtain the proper balance between self-gratification and fairness to others. Do not teach them to go to extremes of selfishness nor to the altruistic extreme of sentimental over-self-sacrifice.

9. The discovery of a defect in a child is no excuse for neglect of that child. The purpose of analysis is correction even if this takes additional time and energy. Remember that many of the most conspicuous successes in later life were very peculiar children in the classroom. *Pick out the peculiar individual and help him to make the most of himself.* Do not neglect him because he is peculiar for, in so doing, you may be overlooking the genius of the group.

10. In dealing with the peculiar child, as well as with his relatives, by all means *use all the tact and common sense possible.* When parents do not coöperate it is because you have not discovered how to handle the parents. There is always a way for a tactful person to handle the most delicate situation.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What is the main objective of a mental hygiene program?

2. What two general methods may such a program take?

3. How does the changing plasticity of the child affect plans in mental hygiene?

4. What things make the mental adjustment work of the teacher difficult?

5. How may a teacher innocently be the means of aggravating a child's difficulties?

6. How does compensation for inferiority on the part of the teacher prevent her helping the unadjusted child?

7. What is the relative importance of teaching technique and knowledge of abnormal psychology in correcting mental maladjustments?

8. Enumerate some practical hints for a mental hygiene program.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

It is recommended that the following books be read in the order indicated:

1. HART, BERNARD — *The Psychology of Insanity;* Macmillan.
2. LOW, BARBARA — *Psychoanalysis;* Harcourt.
3. WHITE, WILLIAM — *Mental Hygiene;* Macmillan.
4. FREUD, SIGMUND — *General Introduction to Psychoanalysis;* Boni & Liveright.
5. HEALY, WILLIAM — *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct;* Little.
6. JANET, PIERRE — *The Major Symptoms of Hysteria;* Macmillan.
7. FREUD, SIGMUND — *The Interpretation of Dreams;* Macmillan.
8. FREUD, SIGMUND — *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life;* Macmillan.
9. BLEULER, EUGEN, (BRILL, A. A., translator)—*Textbook of Psychiatry;* Macmillan.
10. TREDGOLD, A. F. — *Mental Deficiency;* Wm. Wood & Co.

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